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# GERMANY of TO-DAY

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GEORGE STUART FULLERTON

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# GERMANY OF TO-DAY



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# GERMANY OF TO-DAY

BY

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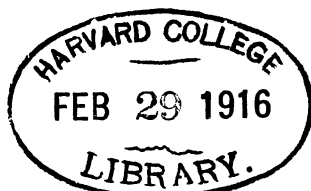
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**TO THOSE WHO DESIRE  
A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING  
AMONG CIVILIZED NATIONS  
AND WHO WORK FOR  
THE CAUSE OF  
INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION**



## PREFACE

**I**N this little volume I have brought together a collection of facts that may easily be verified by anyone who has access to a public library. He who cares to do so may wholly overlook any expressions of opinion which I have permitted myself, and may confine his attention exclusively to the facts adduced. They have been sifted with much care and have been submitted to the criticism of experts. I believe them to be accurate.

I have not desired simply to add one more to the many excellent works which give to English readers general information about Germany. I have wished to present in brief outline a sketch which will give a just conception of the political and social constitution of the German nation and of the spirit with which it is penetrated. Owing to various reasons there is much misconception in this field among my countrymen.

## PREFACE

United Germany is a young and vigorous nation. So is the United States of America. The better the two understand one another, the better for both. The more profitable will be their mutual relations in the time to come.

It is just that I should say that any sympathy which I feel for Germany has no other source than an intimate acquaintance extending over many years. I have no German blood in my veins. My family has been American as long as there has been an American nation.

May my little book be of service to Americans.

GEORGE STUART FULLERTON.

June, 1915.

## CONTENTS

| CHAPTER                                                   | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I THE UNITED STATES OF GERMANY .                          | I    |
| II THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN GER-<br>MANY . . . . .     | 25   |
| III THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE IN GER-<br>MANY . . . . . | 60   |
| IV THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND MILITARISM                       | 83   |
| V THE PROFIT AND LOSS OF MILITARISM                       | 106  |
| VI IMPERIALISM . . . . .                                  | 133  |
| VII THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONS . .                         | 156  |



# GERMANY OF TO-DAY

## CHAPTER I

### THE UNITED STATES OF GERMANY

**G**ERMANY is as much a nation as is the United States of America. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the associations of the word "Empire." The German Empire is a constitutional confederation of states inhabited by a homogeneous people, having the same blood, the same speech and much the same traditions. The Germans had a long experience of the disadvantages of disunion, and they have acute memories of bitter humiliations suffered when Germany was disunited and weak. They have now had an experience of more than forty years showing them the advantages of union, and all the states appreciate those advantages to the full.

# GERMANY OF TO-DAY

## THE UNIFICATION OF THE NATION

It is now natural for us to think of our states as united in a confederation, but it is not so easy for us to think of kingdoms and principalities, whose kings and princes are by some conscientiously believed to hold their places by divine right, as giving up some of their rights as states to a federal government.

To comprehend the situation more sympathetically, we must go back to an earlier time in our own history. The old quarrel touching states-rights and federal control has been for us settled. We are a nation, and the states, although sovereign within certain limits, have finally renounced that complete sovereignty which would make a true union impossible. Once the American would have found it hard to understand what he now takes as a matter of course. Our Civil War was the great climax which finally made of us a nation.

The United States of Germany have developed a national consciousness in much the same way as the United States of America. The develop-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ment has, however, been a more rapid one. It has become natural for Germans in all the states to think of themselves as Germans as we think of ourselves as Americans.

The rapidity of this development has been partly due to pressure from without. Had our United States been surrounded by powerful and jealous neighbors, they would have been compelled to attain to a closer union of feeling at an earlier period. Germany has been in such a position, and Germans have been compelled to lean upon Germans and to create for themselves a strong central government.

I have seen this unification of the Germans going on for thirty years. Those who do not know Germany well may be misled by superficial differences. Those who really know the country have been aware for years that Bavaria would no more think of breaking away from Prussia than Massachusetts would from New York. When it is suggested by men belonging to other nations, that a division of the German confederation would be desirable, and that the smaller states should be liberated from what is called the "Prus-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

sian yoke," Germans who hear such suggestions feel very much as we Americans should feel if outsiders talked of the desirability of the secession of some of the states within our Union. The United States of Germany have the same will to be one as the United States of America.

Even in the imperial province of Alsace-Lorraine, so lately added to the German states, there has evinced itself in recent years rather a surprising sentiment in favor of the Empire. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the outburst of popular feeling which has sometimes shown itself against the army, or rather against certain officers. Alsace and Lorraine are not yet German in feeling to the same extent as Bavaria or Würtemberg. Nevertheless, any ill-will which may be found against things German is not to be compared with the ill-will of a great part of Ireland against England. The fact is surprising, but I believe it to be a fact.

The imperial province has shared in the economic advantages of a union with the Empire and feels that it has, on the whole, been well governed. In my opinion, the German govern-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ment has underrated the strength of the bonds which hold the province to the Empire. The towns in Alsace and Lorraine elect their own mayors, but the election must be approved by the representative of the imperial government. In recent times a number of those elected have not been approved by the imperial government, as they were suspected of being not sufficiently pro-German in feeling. Nevertheless, at the outbreak of the war of 1914 some of these very men were among the first to volunteer as soldiers in the defense of the Empire.

There has just come into my hands at this writing a copy of the radical-socialistic newspaper of Mülhausen, the official organ of its party. I notice that the radical-socialistic deputy to the Reichstag from Alsace vigorously maintains that a separation of Alsace and Lorraine from Germany would lead to industrial disaster there and to an injury to the working man.

It is not surprising that the smaller German states should hold with enthusiasm to the German confederation. Alone, they were of no significance, and were at great economic disad-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

vantage. United, they are constituent parts of a great nation and enjoy very great economic advantages.

In this connection, let me quote the words of Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, the correspondent of the Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph*, who visited Germany at the end of 1914 to see for himself the actual conditions which prevailed there. He indicates, in his letter from Munich, that his sympathies and prejudices do not incline him to the German point of view. Nevertheless, in speaking of the smaller states, he writes: "As in Würtemberg, so in Bavaria. Under Prussian hegemony, these people have known uninterrupted and unbounded prosperity. Aladdin's lamp has been before them for the rubbing during this past generation. They have had their outlet to the sea. They have enjoyed the benefit of the prestige and power of united Germany. Will they ever be content to go back again to the régime of the small inland kingdom? The Bavarians realize now, more than ever since the war started, the intention of the enemies of Germany and they feel that this struggle is far

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

more a matter of life and death to them than to the Prussians, who have a sea-coast; I noticed this in their newspapers."

Every foreign war is apt to emphasize unity among a people and leads to a diminution of internal dissensions. But the unparalleled unanimity with which, not only all the German states, but also all classes of the populations within the states, some of them with apparently irreconcilable principles, joined in the great war, must have impressed everyone who was an impartial spectator of the occurrences of 1914 and 1915, as was I. A very strong national feeling was evinced; something akin to what we look for in America. Even confessional differences, proverbially the most bitter, were wholly dropped out of sight for the time being.

To be sure, one hears in Munich jests at the expense of the Berliner, and in North Germany some fun is made of the Bavarian or the Swabian. Such banter has, in my opinion, little more significance than has that of the New Yorker, who complains that one cannot sleep in Philadelphia, because of the noise that the sun makes beating

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

on the roof, or the Philadelphian's remark, that he found nothing new in Chicago save the old families. There are differences between North Germans and South, but they are not greater than the differences between dwellers in New York and those in New Orleans; they have no political significance. The German nation is one, it has the will to be one, and there is no reason to think that it will again be divided.

### THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES

The German confederation consists of twenty-two states, three free towns, and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine. There are four kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies and seven principalities. The old Hanseatic towns of Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck have retained their ancient privileges, and they entered the union upon the same basis as the states, their respective mayors representing them where the states are represented by their princes. These free towns are, in reality, small republics and enjoy a thoroughly republican form of government. Alsace and Lorraine were added to Germany in

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

1871 and stand in a somewhat different relation to the Empire than do the other states.

### THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The Federal or Imperial Government has just such rights as were freely granted to it by the states which entered into union to form it. Its powers are determined by the purposes it was intended to serve. The analogy between the situation in Germany and in our own country is by no means a remote one. There is a Federal Government with its two chambers and a Chief Executive, and there are the Local Governments which it represents and over which it exercises a limited control.

The "Bundesrat," or Federal Council of the Empire which corresponds somewhat to our Senate, represents the governments of the several states. The more important states have a larger representation than the smaller, but one by no means proportional to their population. Thus, Prussia has in the "Bundesrat" only seventeen votes out of fifty-eight. This is, to be sure, no

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

measure of the influence of Prussia in the confederation, for not only does Prussia exercise an important influence upon the smaller states, but her representation in the "Bundesrat" enjoys a certain limited veto-right, which may be exercised to prevent innovations in legislation touching the army, the navy, duties and excises. The notion of especial rights and "reserved" rights is not foreign to the German confederation. Thus, Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony enjoy, to a limited degree, the former; and Bavaria and Würtemberg the latter.

I suppose the German would scarcely be inclined to call the "Bundesrat" an "upper house." It is supposed to be the "bearer of the sovereignty" vested in the several states. And yet, to the critical eye of the American, its functions seem essentially those of an upper house, and it cannot legislate for the confederation without the cooperation of the lower house. For this reason, I shall speak of it as one of the federal chambers.

The members of the second chamber, the "Reichstag," which corresponds to our House of

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Representatives, are elected by universal manhood suffrage. With us, a citizen of the United States naturally becomes a citizen of any one of the states in which he makes his domicile. The reverse is the case in Germany. He who is the citizen of any state in the German confederation is made thereby a citizen of the Empire and may vote for the nation's representatives in the "Reichstag." The vote is direct and is by secret ballot.

The importance of this national representation cannot be overestimated, for all laws for the regulation of the Empire must, in order to pass, receive the votes of an absolute majority both of the "Bundesrat" and of the "Reichstag."

The Federal Government is the supreme legislative authority in matters regarding the army and navy, the imperial finances, and German commerce. It controls the posts and telegraphs except within two of the states, which have retained certain rights in this regard, and it controls the railways, as far as they affect the national defenses. To federal legislation the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

individual states must adjust themselves in a multitude of provinces affecting the rights and interests of German citizens. Thus, the Federal Government legislates touching naturalisation, domicile, navigation of rivers and canals, banking, patents and copyrights. It controls civil and criminal legislation and the rules of judicial procedure. The colonies of the Empire stand under its authority.

### COMPARED WITH OUR CONGRESS

It can readily be seen that the powers of the federal chambers in Germany are rather closely analogous to those exercised by Congress in the United States of America.

Congress can lay and collect taxes and duties, borrow money on the credit of the United States, regulate foreign and internal commerce, fix the conditions of naturalisation, legislate regarding bankruptcy, money, weights and measures, the mails, copyrights and patents. It can provide for lower federal courts, declare war, and raise and support an army and navy. Moreover, it has organized the public domain into

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

territories and has admitted new states into the Union, as it has deemed fit. The much discussed so-called "elastic clause" of the constitution, enabling Congress to make all laws necessary for carrying into execution the powers vested by the constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer of the government has enabled Congress to pass measures not contemplated when the constitution was promulgated. Such measures were the purchase of Louisiana and Alaska in 1803 and 1867, and those which concern the dependencies acquired by the United States in quite recent times.

In short, the Congress of the United States is the supreme legislative body of a nation, and concerns itself with what regards the nation as a whole. The German chambers have precisely the same task, and their powers are determined by the end held in view. Both federal governments represent states which are, within certain limits, independent, and, within certain limits, stand under a higher authority.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY.

### THE PRESIDENT AND THE EMPEROR

There is one striking difference between the position of the chief executive of the German nation and that of the President of the United States of America. The office of German Emperor is hereditary in the House of Hohenzollern, the reigning house of the kingdom of Prussia. This arrangement was effected by the mutual agreement among the states which formed the Union in 1871, and there are historical reasons, apart from the size and importance of Prussia as a state, which make the arrangement not unnatural.

But both the fact that the chief executive of the German nation is an emperor, inheriting his title, and the fact that the same individual is king of Prussia, and enjoys in that capacity various rights which have nothing to do with his rights and duties as Emperor, have caused in the United States a wide-spread misconception, even among well-informed people, as to the imperial office.

The truth is that the German Emperor is

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY.

virtually the president of the confederation of the German States. It should be noticed that his official title is "German Emperor," not "Emperor of Germany." This title was given him to emphasize the fact that he is first among the German princes, and that his position is not identical with that of the German emperor of an earlier time. The states do not belong to him; he belongs to them.

His powers as chief executive of the United States of Germany are analogous to those exercised by our President. Bills passed by the chambers must be signed by him before they become law. As king of Prussia he can exercise through the Prussian representation in the "Bundesrat," the limited veto-right upon legislation referred to above. Our President enjoys a more unrestricted right of veto, although measures may become law by being passed by a two-thirds majority of our Senate and House over his veto.

The Emperor can influence legislation indirectly by recommendations. So can our President. Here the advantage lies, rather, in my

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

opinion, with our President, who was elected by, and presumably has the support of, one of our large political parties, and who is not hampered by a senate whose members represent states which may easily be made sensitive by what appears to them an undue increase in the imperial influence. If the Emperor is respected and liked—and there can be no question, in the minds of those who have known Germany well for the past twenty-five years, that the present Emperor is regarded in all parts of the Empire with increasing respect and affection—his indirect influence may be great. He has one advantage over even a popular president in the United States; his term of office is longer.

The Emperor may prorogue the "Reichstag" for a period not exceeding thirty days. He may, with the approval of the "Bundesrat," dissolve it, but then new elections must be ordered within sixty days and the new session must be opened within ninety days. Our President may call special sessions of Congress, and, in case the houses disagree with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

he thinks proper, but not for a longer time than the day fixed for the assembling of the next session of Congress.

The Emperor is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy; so is our President. The Emperor may declare a defensive war, but, without the assent of the "Bundesrat," he may not declare an offensive war. The funds necessary to carry on successfully any war can only be obtained by vote of the "Reichstag," or lower house, which votes the budget. In the making of treaties with foreign nations, the appointment of ambassadors, etc., the powers of the Emperor exceed those of the President. Like our President, the Emperor has a "cabinet," theoretically responsible only to himself. However, in actual practise, the Chancellor of the Empire, or Prime Minister, retires, if he cannot, in the long run, secure the cooperation of the parties in the "Reichstag." No member of our cabinet holds his office under this tacit understanding. On the other hand, our cabinet is supposed to support the policy of the President, which is supposed to be in harmony with that

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

of a majority of our citizens, by whose votes the President was elected. Moreover, the members of our cabinet hold office for a definite term of years only, and those who are discontented with them can afford to wait until their places are vacated.

### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY AND IN AMERICA

It is clear that the Federal Government of the German states has many features in common with our own Federal Government. There is a similar emphasis upon the distinction between the legislative and the executive authorities. The governments of the states are represented in one house, and the people, as such, in the other. The Emperor, notwithstanding the title he bears and the fact that his office devolves upon him by heredity, has powers and duties which may well be compared in extent and nature to those of our Chief Executive.

It is of no little importance to insist upon this, and to call attention to the actual facts, for even the thoughtful among us are more or less in-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

fluenced by forms of expression. To every American schoolboy the word "Emperor" suggests Augustus, Tiberius, Nero, Charlemagne and Napoleon. It does not suggest the permanent presidency of a voluntary confederation of states, several of them republics, which have come together on the basis of a constitution carefully defining, in the common interest, the rights and duties of those who govern as well as of those who are governed. It would be unwise to push too far the analogy between the United States of America and the United States of Germany, but it is wise to look at the facts, and to avoid the tyranny of words. Of the wisdom of avoiding the tyranny of crude mistranslations of German words, I need hardly speak, for I write for men of intelligence.

### THE GERMAN STATES

The analogy between the constitutions of the individual German states which compose the confederation and the constitutions of our own States is not as close as that between the German

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Federal Government and our own. The German Federal Government is something relatively new. It was freely made. It did not grow up as the result of a development extending over centuries and exposed to a multitude of historical accidents, although its fundamental principles have their roots in the past. On the other hand, the states which combined to form the Empire were not new communities, but had, either as units or in their constituent parts, long been in existence, and had enjoyed their own traditions.

When they came together, they did not try to remake themselves upon a common pattern. Their several constitutions are determined largely by tradition and are adjusted, on the whole, to the habits and ways of thinking of the people. I have said that kingdoms, grand-duchies, duchies, principalities and republics have entered into the union on relatively equal terms, retaining their local governments while acquiring federal rights. A Bavarian, taking up his residence in the republic of Hamburg, is entitled to the suffrage, and may help in the election of his

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

chosen candidate to the Reichstag; a native of the republic of Bremen may, under similar conditions, become a voter in Bavaria, Saxony or Prussia. But wherever he may have his domicile, the German must come under local rules and regulations.

The German states have their own representative assemblies. The six larger states have the two-chamber system. The free cities have their legislative bodies. There is much difference in the composition of the chambers in the several states, but, in general, it may be said, that the constitution of the typical German state is less democratic than that of the Empire. Heredity, the possession of land, the payment of taxes, even eminence in science or literature, may give one man an advantage over another in the share which he has in the government of his fellows. Between the constitution of the Free State of Hamburg and that of the City of London there is a striking similarity.

Here I may remark that I believe that, after the close of the present war, the constitutions of the several German states will undergo modi-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

fications bringing them more into harmony with the democratic elements in the imperial constitution. Thus, I regard it as not improbable that the suffrage in the individual states will take on somewhat the same liberal character as is shown in the elections for the "Reichstag." The loyalty of the people of Germany, and the great sacrifices willingly made by all classes, in the present crisis in the life of the nation, would thus meet with a fitting recompense.

### THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES

The constitutions of the several states have undergone changes in the past, and they will certainly undergo changes in the future. Nevertheless, there has been, and still is, much conservatism. This should not surprise the American, who voluntarily chooses to live under a federal constitution which, for a century and a quarter, has undergone practically no changes of moment, and in which it appears to be excessively difficult to introduce changes. When men are well off, they fear changes; when they are miserable, they court them. Among my

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

personal friends I count men of education and intelligence who belong to the Social-Democratic party and who stand for thorough-going reforms. Nevertheless, I am convinced that, were they sure that the sweeping changes, which they seem to advocate, might be made at once, they would oppose their introduction. Their inconsistency is only on the surface. They believe in reforms; they do not want revolution; the government under which they live is a very tolerable one and they know that they could easily get a worse.

The general principle on which self-government in Germany is based, has been characterised in a standard British work as: "Government by experts, checked by lay criticism and the power of the purse, and effective control by the central authorities." It is further added: "That this system works without friction is due to the German habit of discipline; that it is, on the whole, singularly effective, is a result of the peculiarly enlightened and progressive views of the German bureaucracy."

It would be a waste of time for any admirer of Germany to try to prove that the constitu-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

tions of the German states are like those of the states which compose our Union. It would be foolish for any opponent to maintain, that, because unlike them, they are intolerable to the populations which live under them. Governments have their histories. The test of a government is to be found in what it does, and may in the future be expected to do, for the governed. If its workings result in degradation and misery, in the reign of injustice and a pervasive feeling of insecurity, the government is bad, whatever its form. If it makes for enlightenment, if there is a general confidence in the administration of justice and the protection of the rights even of the weak, if the mass of the citizens are enabled to live happy lives and to develop freely their intellectual and moral powers, it should not hastily be condemned, even by those who, by education and by conviction, are led to prefer some other form of government.

## CHAPTER II

### THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE IN GERMANY

**T**HERE is rather a wide-spread belief in America, that the Germans, in their own home, cannot precisely be called a free people, and do not enjoy those rights of man to which every American thinks he has a claim. Now and then men of an oratorical turn describe the German as "groaning under the yoke of a Prussian militarism."

To be sure, those of us who travel in Germany see great apparent content, and find faces less anxious than those to which we are accustomed in New York. Those of us who live for a while in Germany and come into close contact with Germans discover that they are apt to regard with affection the princes of their several states and to have a kindly feeling towards their paternal government. Nevertheless, there is a tra-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

dition in some quarters outside of Germany that the Germans are groaning under a yoke of some kind, and dwellers in other lands have even gone so far as to suggest that it would be an act of disinterested benevolence to set them free by force.

That all Germans are contented no sensible man would maintain. But the average German does not appear to be more restlessly discontented than the average American, who is usually agitating for reforms of some sort, and the mass of the workers in Germany impress one as distinctly less restless and discontented than the corresponding classes in Great Britain. For this the elaborate social legislation of the last quarter of a century is in large measure responsible.

Certain it is that, notwithstanding the great yearly increase of the population, an increase approaching a million, and in spite of the problem of providing for those added to the population in a territory of limited size, emigration from Germany has fallen off extraordinarily. This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that the population is intelligent, well-informed and

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

energetic, possesses the means to emigrate, can very easily go to America or elsewhere, and has numerous relatives and connections across the seas. There is still some emigration, of course, but the mass of the inhabitants, whatever they may complain of, appear to find life best worth living at home. The situation is very different from what it is in certain other countries in Europe, the emigration to the United States from Germany having been, in recent years, if the sizes of the populations concerned are taken into consideration, scarcely one-twentieth of what it has been from Ireland.

There are, however, certain reasons why the American might easily be misled into forming a somewhat erroneous opinion of the rights enjoyed by the German, and of the measure of his contentment with those rights.

There are differences between the political rights of the American and those of his Teutonic neighbor. The principle of hereditary right seems strange to the American, and it is foreign to his thought that men should be appointed, and not elected, to membership in any legislative

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

body. Furthermore, the elaborate organization of the machinery of government, which obtains in Germany, and which results in an admirable order and discipline, keeps a man mindful of the fact that he is governed. This is distasteful to the American. The historical reasons for, and the practical significance of, the organization of society in the German states, do not at once make themselves apparent to our eyes. To do justice to them, we are compelled to familiarize ourselves with a rather new conception of rights and duties.

One thing, however, the American will learn, if his knowledge becomes more than superficial, and that is that no man is more conscious than is the German of the rights which he actually has under the law, nor is any man more ready to have recourse to the law to protect them. In the present chapter I shall deal briefly with German rights.

### GERMAN AND AMERICAN POLITICAL RIGHTS

It is palpable that the political rights of the Germans are not identical with those which we

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Americans enjoy. When our states came into being, their inhabitants found themselves confronted with a new situation. Old things had passed away and they had a clear field before them.

They had been accustomed to a good deal of self-government as colonies, they were relatively new communities, and they were thrown upon their own resources. Several states found themselves with very similar problems upon their hands, and, solving them in a somewhat similar way, they attained to a large measure of uniformity. To the federal constitution which they adopted, new states were compelled to adjust themselves. The new states, moreover, were peopled largely by those who had come from the older states and who brought with them their old traditions. The constitutions of our states are not identical, but they are made upon the same plan, nevertheless. They are, in theory, thoroughly democratic.

As was indicated in the last chapter, the conditions in Germany were very different when the German Empire came into being. Vested

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

rights were recognized; old traditions were respected. The German states are not organized after any uniform plan. They did not break with the past, but brought with them into the Union what they already possessed. The Empire is in certain respects extraordinarily tolerant. It can take up into itself states which are conservative and aristocratic and states which enjoy a republican form of government.

We have seen that the upper federal chamber represents the governments of the several states. If these states are liberal, their representatives will be liberal. We have seen that the lower chamber, which has control of the imperial finances, is elected on the basis of universal suffrage, by a direct and secret vote. We have also seen that the ministry is in practice, although not in theory, responsible to this chamber.

Such a constitution does not impress one as undemocratic, and it puts no small measure of power into the hands of the people. If the people split into parties and quarrel with each other,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

instead of working for the common good, the fault is their own. They could have a great influence if they chose to exercise it. It is worthy of remark, that the present "Reichstag" (in 1915), out of a total membership of 397, counts 110 Social-Democrats, and about 88 Liberals. The "Center," or Catholic party, has some 84 votes, and favors social legislation. The Conservatives, taken together, count less votes than any of the other parties enumerated.

The political rights of the people in the several states vary with the states. I suppose no one, calling a state into being in our day, and influenced by traditions, would think of creating such a chamber as legislates for the little duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. The constitution of this duchy was granted in 1816 by Charles Augustus, the enlightened patron of Goethe, and it was revised in 1850 and again in 1906. The diet consists of one chamber with thirty-eight members, of whom five are chosen by owners of land, five by other property owners, five by the University of Jena and other public bodies and twenty-three by the rest of the inhabitants. The

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

chamber votes the budget, and all male citizens over twenty-one years of age are entitled to vote.

Such a constitution is a heritage from the past, and, like most heritages from the past, it represents actually existent interests of some sort which men are inclined to acknowledge. Like our common law, it is not the creature of pure reason, but is a growth, and it has its roots in an earlier age. Whether it will work satisfactorily or not, will depend upon the degree of its adjustment to the character of the society which lives under it, and to the habits and ways of thinking of the people. The American needs to remind himself in judging of such constitutions, that the German people are, as a rule, attached to their traditions, and have a feeling of affection for their princes, by whom they expect to be treated with consideration.

Where the German states have two chambers, the composition of the upper chamber is not, according to our notions, democratic. Thus, in Bavaria, membership in the upper house is determined by heredity, by the incumbency of certain important offices in the state, by the in-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

cumbency of certain ecclesiastical positions, and by royal appointment. Membership in the lower house, on the other hand, rests upon the principle of universal suffrage. The houses are called together every two years, and must approve the budget. No laws affecting the liberty or property of citizens can be passed without their consent.

As in Bavaria, so in Prussia, the membership of the upper house is not determined by the popular vote. That of the lower house depends upon universal suffrage, but property qualifications here play a significant rôle. The consent of the King and of both chambers must be obtained, before a measure can become law. The chambers have the control of the finances, the lower house first discussing the budget, which can be accepted or rejected by the upper house only as a whole.

The few illustrations which I have given will serve to make clear that the political rights of the Germans are not identical with ours. It should be equally clear, however, that they have very significant political rights, nevertheless.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

The citizen ultimately controls the finances both of the states and of the Empire, and, as we all know, money is the nerve both of peace and of war.

Changes are going on in Germany, and the influence of the democratic spirit is making itself more and more felt. But I do not here wish to dwell upon this. I wish rather to emphasize the conservative, the traditional and the aristocratic elements in the German constitutions, in order to bring out a very curious circumstance. As I have come to understand the working of the German governments, the matter has interested me no little, and I think it well worth while to call it to the attention of my countrymen. This subject will fill the rest of this chapter.

### GOVERNMENT FOR THE PEOPLE

We Americans are fond of maintaining that a government should be *of* the people, *by* the people, and *for* the people. Our suffrage gives us, in theory, at least, a government *of* the people. Experience has taught us that it is no easy matter to secure a government *by* such of the people

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

as are enlightened and disinterested, and to that end we bend our efforts. Upon the difficulties connected with securing a government *for* the people, which will insure a measure of well being to all classes, and will prevent the rapacious from robbing their neighbors, I need scarcely dwell. Under many forms of government the rich may become dangerously rich and powerful, and the poor may be sent empty away. But, as good Americans, our hope is in democracy in general, and, more specifically, in the form of democracy which we ourselves enjoy.

Far be it from me to say a word against the form of government under which I have been brought up, which I revere, and the disadvantages of which I regard as extraneous and accidental rather than as inherent and essential. Still, I recognize that a nation cannot strip off its past with impunity, any more than a man can, with right and impunity, rid himself of his family. And it is only gradually that I have been brought to the realization that a government, which the average American would not be inclined to describe as *of* the people and *by* the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

people, may, nevertheless, be most emphatically a government *for* the people; not for a caste, not for a class, not for the few, but for the people as such, including the poor, the weak, the inarticulate. Men who have long nursed the popular prejudice against the traditional mother-in-law have been brought to confess that, in individual cases, the incumbent of the office in question may be both a good woman and pleasant to live with.

Those who know Germany well are compelled to admit that the German government is a government for the people, and is both just and benevolent. I may mention in passing that, as I write these lines, in Munich, in war time, the bread which I eat contains a certain proportion of wheat flour and a certain proportion of rye. The government of the Empire has determined to make it certain that all classes of the population shall be secured from hardship until the next crops are harvested. The amount of bread which I may buy is regulated by law, as is the amount of flour. I submit to such regulations, not only with willingness, but, as one interested

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

in social reform, with pride and pleasure. The Emperor is eating the same bread. The highest officials in Bavaria, civil and military, are limited in their purchases as I am; I am allowed just what is allowed to my cook. When one knows that all are treated alike, small privations are no longer a burden. No man is exploiting me. Speculation in foodstuffs is repressed. Any sacrifice which I make ceases to be a sacrifice, because it is a contribution to the common good. But to return to my task, which I must here fulfill very briefly.

### THE PEOPLE AND THE COURTS OF JUSTICE

I suppose that one of the best indications that a given government is carried on in the interests of the people is that the people themselves have an unshaken confidence in the justice of the courts to which they may appeal in defense of their rights. It is an indication no less significant, when access to the courts is made easy to all classes, even to the poorest. The Germans go to law easily, for it is easy to go to law, and the expenses are relatively slight. The lawyer

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

may not charge an arbitrary fee, for the law regulates the matter. And certain classes of persons do not have to pay any fee at all.

As to the impartial administration of justice, in a land which is sometimes described as bureaucratic, it is worth while to quote the opinion of a socialist and radical, a scholar of standing, who has himself, in doing what seemed to him his duty as a reformer, come into conflict with the government. A few years ago I asked him, having a particular case in mind, whether a state official would have an advantage in the courts over a private citizen, when both were parties to a suit. He answered that, especially if the official appeared as plaintiff or defendant in his private capacity, it was hardly conceivable that he should have any advantage whatever.

It is my observation that the people, from the humblest maid-servant up, have confidence in the courts, and readily carry before them their real or fancied grievances. Sometimes they are fancied grievances, but they can, at least, get a hearing. Poverty need not prevent a servant from bringing suit against an employer, for the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

servant can claim "Armenrecht," that is, can have the case conducted without expense to himself. Had I a suit with one of my servants, I should, on the whole, look for justice, but I should expect a court, if there were any "partiality," to be biassed rather on the side of the servant than on mine. The "Existenz-Frage," as it is called, the problem of getting a living, looms large on the horizon in Germany, and occupies the public attention. It is this that has led to the elaborate system of social legislation which characterizes the nation.

### THE RIGHT TO A LIVING

The population is much denser in Germany than it is in the United States. As a rule, men have to make a more thorough preparation, and to wait longer, before they get the start in life. Americans are impressed by the large numbers of well prepared men, who are waiting for positions of all sorts, in many of which the remuneration must seem to any American surprisingly small. This is true not merely of positions in the gift of the government. It is true gener-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ally. The situation results, to be sure, in the selection of thoroughly prepared men to fill the positions in question; but it reveals that the problem of earning a living in Germany, as elsewhere in Europe, is a serious one. It must be solved, if suffering is to be avoided, by deliberate thought and attention. These it has received.

There is a prevailing sentiment in all parts of Germany that men should not lightly or suddenly be deprived of their means of a livelihood. Employers, whether the state, private corporations, or individuals, have laid upon their shoulders responsibilities for their employees which must seem, to those unaccustomed to the system, burdensome. There is a strong tendency to render all sorts of positions relatively permanent, and to define in detail the rights of those who occupy them. For the vast number of officials—the term is a very inclusive one—in the service of the state, or in that of the communities within the state, for the employees of rail-roads, street-car lines, etc., generally, the whole matter has been worked out in minute detail. Nor have those in private service been overlooked. We

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Americans are, of course, not unfamiliar with somewhat similar legislation, but in no land has it reached the development that it has among the Germans.

Here in Bavaria, for example, if I wish to get rid of a servant, I must give her notice on or before the fifteenth of the month, the notice to take effect on the first of the month following. I must allow the servant, in the two weeks intervening, a certain number of outings to look for another place. If I delay my notice until the sixteenth, I must tolerate the unwelcome domestic for six weeks longer. Should I prefer to get rid of her at any price, I must pay her, not merely her wages, but also a sum to cover her board and lodging up to the legal date. Such legal provisions may easily be an annoyance to the employer. It is not all employees who seem to deserve so much consideration. But it is surely better that the well-to-do should suffer some inconvenience than that those who have their daily bread to earn should run the risk of being brought to distress. The relative stability of employment in Germany everywhere

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

impresses the American. He is the more impressed, when he reflects that the number of those seeking positions renders it by no means difficult to fill vacant places. In certain higher positions, as in the public libraries and about the universities, the incumbent of an office can be gotten rid of only by process of law.

The organization of society in Germany has resulted in an enormous extension of the pension system. A man is provided for in his old age, and, in case of his death, his family receives assistance. The pension system may become a grave abuse, as we Americans well know. But rightly managed it may be an inestimable benefit.

The German who accepts a pension, whether he be a conductor on a tram-line or a university professor, does not feel that he is accepting charity. The pension is regarded as a part of the remuneration for work done, and the benefit is as a rule the greater as the term of service is longer. Where men feel secure in their tenure of office, and know that their families are not threatened with disaster in case of their death or retirement from disability, they are willing to

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

work contentedly on a moderate income. And it is worthy of remark that the whole system tends to encourage honesty and faithfulness in the service rendered. The average of honesty of German officials of all classes, many of whom draw surprisingly small salaries, is exceedingly high.

### SOCIAL LEGISLATION FOR WORKERS

In 1883 the Reichstag, in harmony with the policy announced by the Emperor in his speech from the throne in 1881, enacted a law making compulsory upon workers in industrial pursuits insurance against sickness, accident and incapacity. The legislation thus initiated has been extended. At present there is in the German states an elaborate system of insurance against sickness, old age, invalidity and accident. Many classes of persons are thus provided for. Among those who may share, for example, in the benefits of the laws regarding insurance against old age and invalidity, enemies which threaten us all, are domestic servants, artisans, laundresses, seamstresses, dressmakers, housekeepers, fore-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

men and journeymen. The same right is enjoyed by teachers in private schools, by private tutors, and by employees in mercantile establishments, provided their yearly earnings fall below a certain fixed sum. In the case of the last class mentioned, a participation in the benefits of the insurance is voluntary. A part of the expense of the contribution is paid by the employer, where the insurance is obligatory, and a part by the employee. At any rate such is the legal provision, but, especially in the case of domestic servants, etc., it is not unusual for the employer to pay the whole. On him devolves the duty of seeing to it that the provisions of the law are obeyed.

It is scarcely too much to say that there are very few Germans, indeed, who are not provided for by the law, in some way, and to some extent, if they become incapable of self-support. They may receive very little, and it may be eminently desirable that public aid should be supplemented by private charity. But they are, at least, saved from falling into the class of the submerged. And as everyone is under inspection, and should

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

have papers of some sort, it is possible to know something about the cases that seem to need assistance. The laws regarding the compulsory insurance of the working classes have done much to reduce both pauperism and crime. Begging is reduced to a minimum and is discouraged.

To be sure, it is easier to get rid of a beggar by giving him a little money, than it is to take the time and trouble to look into his claims to assistance. Germans succumb to this weakness, as well as Americans, and it encourages impostors. But it is my experience that Americans resident in Germany suffer most from what the Germans call "consulate swindlers," that is, from men who maintain that they are subjects of this or that foreign nation, are temporarily in distress, and have a claim upon the sympathies of their alleged countrymen. Some time since, as I was chatting with three other Americans, I happened to touch upon a case which had moved my sympathies and had elicited a small contribution. I discovered that all three of the other men present had been taken in as well as I. One had given the man money for a ticket to Nuremberg, the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

second had paid his way to Innsbruck, and the third had helped him on his road to Stuttgart. As "an American citizen temporarily in distress," he had no papers, but he had a plausible tongue and a sore leg which he exhibited with effect. Such "Americans" usually speak English imperfectly or with a foreign accent, but they are most insistent in their claims. In Munich, the Germans, who put every class under inspection, have appointed an official with the title "Police-officer for Consulate-Swindlers." To this official I had recourse, after endeavoring to look personally into the last three cases in which I was appealed to. In each case I had been given a false address.

Germany is no paradise for the vagrant, but the poor man who is properly accounted for is not left to his own resources. It is a part of the aid given by the state to the humbler classes that medical advice may be had gratis by those properly insured. And, especially in recent years, an earnest effort has been made to guard the health and comfort of the workers while they are still able to work. We are ourselves familiar with

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

factory-inspection, and with the limitation of the hours of labor. The problem of rendering the life of the working man in Germany tolerable to him, and not unhygienic, is being worked out with characteristic thoroughness. Everybody and everything appears to be inspected by some official. Those of us who do not come under the social legislation I am discussing are accustomed to drive ourselves as it is not possible for an employer to drive his employee. This seems just. He who drives himself does it for his own profit; he who is driven by another is making a profit for someone other than himself. Against such an exploitation of man by his fellowman the German law enters its veto.

### THE TAXATION OF THE PEOPLE IN GERMANY

The little-appreciated privilege of paying taxes is one common to men of all nations, but the principle according to which taxes are levied is by no means the same everywhere. In one land the taxes bear very hard upon the poor; in another, those who possess little are treated with indulgence.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

In Germany the Federal Government derives its income partly from customs, duties, inheritance taxes, profits from the posts and telegraphs, etc., and partly from contributions levied upon the states composing the Empire. In the several states the principles of taxation are virtually the same, and a single instance will serve to illustrate their spirit. I choose Bavaria, because that kingdom has recently revised its system of taxation and has expressly made the effort to profit by the experience of the other states.

He who studies the Bavarian tax-laws is, from beginning to end, impressed by the fact that it was the evident intention of those who framed them to make the taxes rest lightly upon the poor, and to lay the heaviest part of the burden upon stronger shoulders. One circumstance may seem to contradict this conclusion. Very small incomes are taxed, and classes of persons who, in our country, pay no tax at all have to pay some tax in Bavaria. But this provision was deliberately made to guard the self-respect of those of small means, and to prevent their being classed with paupers, bankrupts, and those generally who

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

are treated as though they owed the state nothing. It is worthy of note that the party which most earnestly insisted upon the taxation of small incomes was that of the Social-Democrats, who, especially, champion the cause of the poor man.

The Bavarian system of taxation rests mainly upon the taxation of incomes. Income earned from year to year is taxed at a lower rate than income from investments, which is decidedly a favoring of the non-capitalist class. And the tax on incomes, whether from earnings or from invested money, is a progressive one. In turning over the little volume which contains the tax laws passed for the kingdom in 1910, I find a tariff for the computation of taxes comprehending two hundred and eleven classes, with an appendix giving rules to cover, by a further progressive increase, the incomes of the very rich. The poor pay a tax which is merely nominal; the total income tax, including state, district and city taxes, may fall within seventy-five cents. There are, moreover, provisions for the relief of those who, although not very poor, seem to have special claims to consideration. Thus, the parents that

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

are rearing a family of children have a right to be taxed at a lower rate than the couple living in solitary comfort.

Direct taxes are, I suppose, liked by no one. He who pays is too conscious that he is being taxed. Nevertheless, the humanitarian, who realizes that a man may feel the effects of taxes every day without realizing clearly that what he suffers is the result of taxation, must welcome any system which lays the burden of supporting the state chiefly upon those who can afford to carry it, refusing to raise, by indirect taxation, the price of the necessities of life to a point at which they are almost beyond the reach of a considerable portion of the population. Those of us who know Italy have observed the workings of the system of indirect taxation upon the prices of commodities which the masses can ill afford to do without. The indirect taxes in Germany are not oppressive to the masses.

I have no desire to recommend any or all of the measures which the German states have thought fit to pass in order to pay the expenses of their governments. Taxation is a science of

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

itself, and the layman has little right to express an opinion. But it has inspired me, an American, with a lively curiosity, to see in this field, as in the field of social legislation discussed above, that forms of government, which it would not occur to the American to call democratic, and which contain certain elements foreign to his notion of what constitutes a government of and by the people, should legislate distinctly *for* the people. These governments exercise a paternalism which is all-embracing. They are penetrated by a certain spirit of fairness, and they appear to make it a fundamental maxim that the mass of the citizens have a right to an endurable existence and must not be exploited in the interests of any class. To regard them as governments for a class is absurd. Whether they have a logical right to the title or not, they are in fact governments for the people.

### GERMAN RIGHTS AND AMERICAN IMPRESSIONS

I have indicated above that the American is more conscious of being governed in Germany than in his own country. He is not infrequently

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

confronted by the sign "forbidden by the police," and it takes him some time to discover that the word "police" does not mean at all what it does with us, but includes the whole machinery which has to do with the protection of the workers, factory inspection, etc., and that it even extends to the cleaning of the streets in the cities.

Still, the American is long impressed by the number of the things that are forbidden. Not only is his neighbor forbidden to do things that will annoy him, but he himself appears to be forbidden to injure himself in the many ways open to a freeman of courage and independence. The citizen is taken care of, and it is not every-one who wishes to be taken care of.

Furthermore, as we have seen, in Germany a man is made his brother's keeper. If he is an employer of labor, he is forced into the paternal attitude, which, to be sure, many American employers of labor, individuals and corporations, voluntarily assume, but which all are not forced to assume. The obligation is distasteful to many.

If the American is a house-holder in Germany,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

he is very conscious that he has servants with definite rights established either by law or by a custom which seems to have an equivalent sanction, and not with rights which they merely arrogate to themselves. He forgets to paste upon the cards furnished for the purpose the invalid-insurance stamps required by law; he does not keep track of the many public holidays observed in most of the German states, and he suffers inconvenience. However, everything has its two sides, as I discovered when my cook went raving mad, and the possession of a small strip of paper, showing that she was properly insured, made it possible for me to telephone and to have her taken by the proper officials to the Psychiatric Clinic, placed under the supervision of the famous Kraepelin, and cared for as well as if she were a woman of means. She was not treated as a pauper, and I was not put to any trouble or expense. I had done my part and the government did the rest. The responsibility for others laid in Germany upon the shoulders of those who are at all well-to-do comes to be regarded by the American as less burdensome, when he learns

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

to understand its significance. But he can hardly be expected to discover at once that he has towards the charwoman who regularly makes her appearance upon his premises other duties than those of paying her and treating her civilly.

Upon certain rights an emphasis is laid in Germany that must seem to those brought up in other lands strange and unusual. We believe in free competition in business; so does the German. But he regards some kinds of competition as unfair, and it does not strike him as improper to have a law against unfair competition. Thus, one may not advertise a clearing-out sale to close a business, and then profit by the sale without clearing-out and closing. Upon his right, not merely to compete in business, but to enjoy fair conditions of competition, the German insists.

Again, it appears to be accepted that even the poor man has a certain right to his self-respect. A man may not with impunity be called by offensive names, even if he occupy a very humble position. Furthermore, it is recognized that men have a certain right to their privacy. Their

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

neighbors may not circulate injurious reports about them, even if the reports be true. The right to privacy is, in certain cases, carefully maintained even against the government. The bank with which we have our dealings may not give information about our financial affairs even to the tax-office. All its officers are bound to secrecy. For this peculiar provision there seem to be palpable economic grounds.

### WHOM DOES THE GERMAN OBEY?

The more the American looks into the actual workings of government in Germany, the more he is impressed with the fact that, although the German is very thoroughly governed, he is governed in his own interests. Life is tolerable for all classes, and not merely for the high-born and the rich. The military officer, honored, it may be, but, according to our notions, underpaid and often hard-worked, is as much under authority as is any civilian. All are taught to obey; all have their burdens to bear. The German belongs to the state and he is educated to believe that he owes something to the state and that the state

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

owes him a good deal. Upon his rights he insists, and in Germany that often comes under the head of right which in other lands comes under the head of charity.

Whom does the German ultimately obey? To this question I can give no other answer than: He obeys the state. If he obeys an individual he obeys him only as the representative of the state. The whole complicated machine is not constructed and carried on in the interests of given individuals or given classes, although, as we have seen, traditional rights have not been swept away in the process of evolution through which the German nation has been going. The Germans have been experimenting as we have. Their instinct has been for progress, in the avoidance of revolution. It seems sufficiently curious that the extensive reforms in social legislation discussed above should have received their initial impulse from an Emperor, and should have had the active support of the Social-Democratic party. Whatever aristocratic and conservative elements the German governments may retain, they have not been found incompatible

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

with the introduction of such reforms, nor have they shaken the conviction of the German that his government exists for and in the interest of the German people. The arbitrary exercise of power by any German official is sure to give rise to indignation.

Americans who have come to know Germany well have often remarked to me: "The German government, whatever its constitution, has stolen their thunder from the Socialists." It is perhaps not well to use a word which has, for many persons, objectionable associations. But the truth should be acknowledged that the often-remarked willing obedience of the German to the constituted authorities has its roots in the conviction that he is not yielding obedience to an arbitrary power, but is bowing to the state, which exists in his interests, and of which he feels himself to be a part.

### SUMMARY

We see, thus, that the German citizen lives under a federal government not so very dissimilar from our own; that he has, under the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Federal Government, significant political rights, and is by the Federal Government guaranteed a multitude of private rights, in whatever German state he may have his domicile. The supposed dictatorial power of the Emperor is a chimera. We have seen, furthermore, that the several German states, whatever traditional conservative elements their constitutions may retain, grant to their citizens political rights of a good deal of importance. And we have seen that the courts are just, the officials surprisingly honest, and the private rights of German citizens well protected. Social legislation for the workers is most extensive and is efficiently organized; there is an effort made to spare the poor man the burden of unjust and excessive taxes. In short, the Germany of to-day is not the Germany which Carl Schurz and men like him left to seek a refuge elsewhere. Such men stay at home now; and, as a German scholar, animated by much the same spirit as Schurz, remarked to me lately, it is the harder to introduce reforms, as the German government is a good government and most men do not feel acute and pressing grievances.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Under the circumstances it is absurd to speak of the German people as groaning under a yoke of any kind. As long as there is life and growth in the nation, there will and there ought to be some discontent and a disposition to introduce reforms. We Americans have, for our benefit, the same spirit. We are never content, and we ought not to be content; neither should the German. But any reforms which he introduces will probably not be uninfluenced by his traditions and the actual position in which he finds himself. We have practically a continent to ourselves; we live in a villa. The German occupies a flat, and he is more conscious of his neighbors. He cannot introduce reforms without bearing that fact in mind, as we shall see in Chapter V.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE IN GERMANY

ANY account of German national life which would omit a description of the education of the German people would be as incomplete as the play of *Hamlet* with that problematical hero wholly left out.

Germany cannot be understood at all by one who knows nothing of its system of education. There is no subject, not even that of the national defenses, to which the German has devoted more careful attention. There is no institution of the state upon which he is more willing to spend money and labor than upon the system of schools, lower and higher. It is education that has made Germany what it is, and Germany knows it.

The belief in education is in Germany a religion. That every citizen has a right to a reason-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ably good education is an article of faith. The popular support given to the public school system in our great democracy shows that we occupy much the same standpoint as the Germans. We believe that the citizens must be educated or the state will suffer. "How can the children learn if they ain't got no slates?" I heard a local school-director waiting for a car, in Philadelphia, angrily vociferate to two less intelligent fellow-citizens. All honor to the man, in spite of his defective English. He was a prophet of enlightenment, and he wanted to insure to the rising generation some of the good things that he had missed.

Sometimes the enthusiasm for education which permeates the German people shows itself in amusing ways. A cook whom I employed sixteen years ago, when I spent a year and a half in Germany, afterwards kept up a correspondence with my wife's maid, an Englishwoman. She expressed in one of her letters some dissatisfaction with the position she had found after leaving me. Her master was a baron and lived in a castle upon his own estates. But, as the cook wrote

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

with disapprobation, the nobleman in question was not a scholar and he appeared to be interested only in agriculture. To be sure, all German cooks do not have the same reverence for professors.

### THE SCHOOLS FOR THE PEOPLE

The percentage of illiteracy in the German states is practically a negligible quantity. As determined by the examinations of the recruits for the compulsory military service, it falls in Bavaria to one hundredth of one per cent. That is to say, only one man in ten thousand is classed as illiterate. In Prussia the number is four men in ten thousand, the character of the population in the less-civilized East upon the Russian border accounting for the difference.

The education of the people is compulsory in all the German states; and in all, except in the two minute grand-duchies of Mecklenburg, the first eight years of school life are practically the same.

The primary schools claim the children from their sixth to their fourteenth year. They are

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

there taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the elements of geometry, history, geography, the elements of physics and chemistry, a little zoology and botany, German literature and composition. They also receive instruction in religion, in drawing, in singing and in gymnastics. The teaching is very thorough, and is everywhere under the supervision of the state.

As may readily be seen, the child who starts out in life with such an equipment is fitted to become something more than a tool in the hands of others. In the cities, boys often receive instruction in manual training, and the girls in house-work and needle-work, but this is not the case everywhere. In the country, the additional instruction may be, respectively, in fruit-farming and in needle-work.

There is one aspect of the school-life of the child in Germany upon which it seems especially worth while to dwell. In Southern Germany, at least, it is expected that the children of all classes of the population, even the highest, should, during the first years of their education, attend the public primary or "people's" schools. Attend-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ance upon other schools is discouraged, and permission to attend pay-schools is granted only in special cases and for cause. One of the most common excuses urged is that the health of the child will not permit of the usual schooling. In North Germany there are public pay-schools which lead up to the higher schools, and to these the richer classes are apt to send their children.

The arrangement in South Germany is the more democratic, but, in the opinion of many, it does not go far enough. There is a good deal of agitation among educators in Germany in favor of making certain changes in the school courses and compelling all children between the years of six and fourteen to attend the same public primary schools. It is thought that the whole body of future citizens should, during the first eight years of their schooling, be educated together, just as the body of able-bodied male citizens come together for a final schooling when they receive their military training. The agitation is prompted by democratic sentiment and is urged in the interest of the state.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

### THE CONTINUATION-SCHOOLS

Compulsory education in the regular schools is at an end when the child is fourteen years old. But even a bright child of fourteen, taken out of school and set to work under unfavorable circumstances, may become dulled and lifeless, unpromising material for citizenship in any walk in life. Character is unformed; the significance of education has not yet become apparent; the child has not learned to think for himself, and he must be saved from himself.

To accomplish this purpose the continuation-schools have been founded to meet the needs of those whose parents cannot afford to keep them longer in school. In all of the German states attendance is obligatory in towns of over 10,000 inhabitants. In the country, and in small towns, it is obligatory except in Prussia and in Mecklenburg. The pupils must attend for at least two years after the completion of the primary school course. In the larger towns attendance is compulsory at least until the completion of their seventeenth year.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

### WHAT IS TAUGHT IN CONTINUATION-SCHOOLS

The continuation-schools are divided into two groups, those for skilled workers and those for children who will become unskilled laborers.

Boys who attend the schools for skilled workers receive direct vocational training, and instruction regarding materials, tools and the making of estimates of costs. They are further instructed in physics and chemistry, geometry, drawing, bookkeeping, civics and German literature. In Munich, Strasburg and Düsseldorf they learn shop-work.

Boys who are to remain unskilled laborers receive instruction in arithmetic, German literature, civics, and what is called "Heimatkunde," i.e., information regarding the industrial and economic conditions of the state or district in which the school is situated.

Girls are, like boys, divided into the classes of those who are to follow skilled occupations and those who are not. The former receive instruction analogous to that provided for boys of the first class. The latter are taught all kinds of

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

house-work and needle-work, bookkeeping for the home, and some literature and arithmetic.

Instruction in continuation-schools is not as yet obligatory for girls in all the German states to the same extent as it is for boys. It is, however, obligatory in all the larger towns, and in Southern Germany it is obligatory also in rural districts.

Pupils in the continuation-schools receive from six to ten hours of instruction a week in the towns, and from three to four in the country. All instruction is free, and employers are compelled, under heavy penalties, to make it possible for the boys and girls to attend. The influence of the whole system towards raising the general average of intelligence among the workers of the nation can scarcely be overestimated.

### THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Parents who can keep their children at school longer than the German law compels them to do so, do not keep them at the primary or people's schools up to their fourteenth year. At about

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

their ninth or tenth year they transfer them to the lowest class of a secondary school. The German secondary schools covering, loosely speaking, the ground covered by our public grammar-schools and high-schools, although they carry the students further, are some of them chiefly classical and some chiefly scientific in character. There is no need of my describing them in detail. The course extends over nine years and is a very thorough one. There is only one circumstance upon which, in this connection, I need dwell, and that is the class of pupils by which they are frequented.

The government keeps a record of the occupations followed by the parents, and I recently examined, with much curiosity, such a list, indicating the classes of society represented in one of the large public schools in Munich. Along with the children of what are, even with us, sometimes unhappily called the "upper classes" of the population, I found abundantly represented the children of street-car conductors, travelling salesmen, house-painters, postmen, electricians, milkmen, head-waiters, janitors, locomotive-engineers,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

switchmen, bakers, stokers, coopers, and chimney-sweeps.

This is a striking circumstance. Education, even the higher education, is, in Germany, not the portion of the few. Where there is a will to rise in the world, and even a moderate degree of ability, there is always a way. For this the cheapness of education in Germany, of which I shall soon speak, is largely responsible.

Attendance upon the schools in question opens up the road to a vast number of careers. Through these schools lies the path which leads to the universities, the technical schools, and the other higher professional schools. But those who attend them also become eligible, without going so far, to countless positions in the gift of the state or under the municipal governments, to posts in the higher industries, and to careers in banking and commerce. Education in Germany is in theory and in practice thoroughly democratic. Neither wealth nor social position will enable a student to pass the inevitable state-examinations, and, without that qualification, men find all sorts of careers closed to them.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

### THE HIGHEST SCHOOLS

The German uses the word "High-school" to describe the universities and various professional schools which he considers as of the same grade, such as schools of technology, forestry, agriculture, etc. Admission to these is carefully guarded, for the requirements for admission are high. But the poverty of the student need be no barrier. I know German students well, and can testify, not merely that many of them are very poor, but that numbers come from among the simplest classes of the population. How, in view of their poverty, so many of them have managed to get so far is to me a mystery. They are, to be sure, willing to undergo hardship—of this I have seen a good deal among our own students in America—and here and there they receive aid from the state or from private sources.

Somehow they do manage to live, for we do not find them starving to death. It was an American negro who complained that his prayer for daily bread was not answered precisely as he had hoped. He got his daily bread, he said, but

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

the Lord starved him until he could eat anything, and that was the way in which he got it. Some German students can claim to have had a similar experience. However, they beat their way through, and there are those among them who rise to eminence and repay the state a hundredfold for the cost of their education.

### THE COST OF AN EDUCATION IN GERMANY

In the primary schools, tuition is free in the towns and in many rural districts. Elsewhere it costs from fifty cents to a dollar and a half a year. In the secondary schools in Bavaria, it costs about a dollar a month; in Prussia it costs about three dollars and a half. The poorer children in the primary schools receive their textbooks from the state; the others do not. In the universities, a course of one hour a week for one term (it comprises about twenty lectures) costs a dollar.

As may readily be seen, neither the lower schools nor the higher are carried on upon a paying basis. The state offers tuition practically for nothing; it must look elsewhere than to

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

tuition fees for a return on its expenditure. Where does it get its return? Just where our states get their return for what they spend on the education of the people.

### THE GAIN TO GERMANY.

There is no gain to a country like that derived from the possession of an intelligent and disciplined population. The primary schools and the continuation-schools have been furnishing Germany with an army of workers who are not mere "hands." The education which they have received, and the social legislation in their interest, with the details of which they are perfectly well acquainted, have already made life take on for them less of the aspect of a struggle of class against class. Every industry has felt the benefit of the rise in the character of the population, and most industries have prospered, in spite of the burden imposed upon them by the elaborate system of insurance for workers.

Moreover, to the humanitarian it seems no small gain that a man's daily work should be raised out of the domain of sordid drudgery gone

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

through with only to attain a living wage. The man sufficiently intelligent to have a pride and a pleasure in his work, and to have some conception of the significance of his work in the life of the state, is raised upon a higher plane and is worthy to be called a citizen. Much as it has cost the state, the education of the masses has paid for itself in Germany. It is not without its significance that poverty need not imply degradation, and that the slum is more rarely to be found in German cities than in those of most countries.

Upon the gain which accrues to the state from its elaborate and highly democratic system of higher education it is almost superfluous to dwell. The brains of the state are, directly or indirectly, in the service of the state. At the universities and in many professional schools thousands of able men, selected, as I have indicated above, from all classes of society, are trained to increase human knowledge and to apply what has already been attained to the service of mankind. From the higher institutions of learning in Germany we Americans have borrowed a very great deal. My first visit to Germany thirty-one years ago

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY.

had as its aim the visiting of a number of universities with a view to obtaining hints of which I could make direct use at home. At that time the majority of our own universities were little more than colleges somewhat loosely connected with certain professional faculties too often upon a proprietary basis. The remarkable development which our higher institutions of learning have undergone since has kept pace with the development of our country, and bears testimony to the energy and enterprise of the American, as well as to the disinterested generosity of our compatriots. But that development has not been by any means a wholly independent one.

The Germans have cultivated such seemingly unpractical subjects as philology and philosophy. But they have cultivated with no less assiduity medicine, the mechanic arts, chemistry and physics, veterinary medicine, agriculture, forestry—in short, all those sciences which make directly for the physical and social well-being of mankind. Were it not for the army of well-trained men that the German schools have turned out, Germany could never have become the rich and

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

prosperous nation that she is to-day. She started, and not so very long ago, badly handicapped. She is now a formidable competitor in fields long regarded by other nations as peculiarly their own. Yes, German education has paid. In building up their schools the Germans have well served themselves, for education has made Germany. But, incidentally, the Germans have served other nations as well, for we have all profited by German science and industry.

### OTHER EDUCATIONAL FACTORS.

Man shall not live by bread alone, nor shall civilized man be accounted as living a wholly civilized life, if his education is quite without a tincture of certain elements not usually regarded as directly practical. Poetry and music have their place in the world as well as chemistry and physics.

Those who appreciate the many-sidedness of our modern civilization and believe that man should not merely live, but should live well and have opened up to him many sources of enjoyment, regard schools of music and painting as a

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

valuable adjunct to the educational system of a state. Somewhat the same can be said for the theatre and opera, when they are treated as educational institutions, and subsidised so that they may serve the purposes of such, not being forced to survive only through a successful catering to the taste of the unenlightened.

In Germany the educational system embraces such institutions. The capitals of the many German states are provided with them, as well as many other towns. It is deemed proper that the state should maintain them, and they are not compelled to defray their own expenses. The son of any peasant, provided he shows himself sufficiently talented, finds open to him a career as an artist.

Sometimes the burden of this education in the arts which embellish life comes upon the "civil list" of the German princes, which be it remarked, should in no wise be confounded with the private income of a steel-magnate in America. Here in Munich, for example, the excellence of the music and the drama is at the royal expense. The public parks and that popular resort,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

the garden of the palace, are kept up at the king's expense, but they are free to all. I drink my coffee on sunny afternoons in the garden of the palace; the king does not. Even his house scarcely appears to belong to him. A large part of it stands open to anyone who cares to ask for a card of admission. What treasures of art it contains are at the service of anyone, as are also the royal collections of art in other buildings.

The educational opportunities of Germans generally are thus not confined to ordinary schooling. The people have within their reach an education in the fine arts; and many, in all walks in life, profit by their opportunities. What this means can well be appreciated in a democratic land like our own, where it is believed that all classes have a moral claim upon the best that life has to offer. I can pay a dollar or a dollar and a half for an expensive seat at a concert, if I choose to do so. My pleasure in listening to the excellent music is greatly increased by the knowledge that many of those present in the cheaper seats or in the standing-room, students

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

and others who have little to spend, are enjoying Beethoven and Brahms as I am, but at an expense of twelve or fifteen cents—sometimes at an expense of only seven and a half. Not a few of them are reading the score as they listen.

### THE READING OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

The output of books in Germany is simply enormous, and books are an important factor in the education of a people. Novels are read, of course, but there must be a very large demand for books of quite a different kind as well, or it would never pay anyone to print them in such numbers. It rains books on art, history, economics, politics—on all subjects of serious interest to the German nation. These books are read, not by the few, but by the many. Some of them are foolish books, sensational books; but some of them, and not the least read, are sober and instructive works.

I have said that those who attend the continuation-schools receive instruction in civics. I may add that the mass of the German people are continually receiving such instruction through

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

books containing "Information for the German Citizen," published in large editions and sown broad-cast among the people. I have just been reading such a work. It is one among many, but it is in its sixth edition, and I find on the title-page "thirty-sixth to thirty-ninth thousand." It contains, as do other books of its class, accurate information regarding the constitution of the Empire and the states which compose it, and detailed descriptions of the rights and duties of all classes of Germans.

The average German is a well-read and a well-informed man. So far as his relation to the state is concerned, he is quite as well instructed as is the average American. He knows what he can do towards extending his rights in legitimate ways, and what he cannot. Some Germans are too much occupied with their own affairs to give such matters serious attention. So also, unhappily, are some Americans.

### SUMMARY.

Germany is thus emphatically the land of education. Illiteracy is practically non-existent. All

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

classes of the population must be educated; upon this the government insists. And many classes of the population enjoy a high degree of education. The government has made as serious an effort as has ever been made by any government to enlighten all its citizens. In this sphere, as in others, it has shown itself to be a government for the people, and this should appeal with peculiar force to Americans.

It is worth while to point out that the spread of universal enlightenment is not the way to secure the tyrannical domination of any "caste." In fact, it is the destruction of such a domination. In Russia, just across the border of Prussia, popular enlightenment is more feared than is the bubonic plague. The German thinks he has reasons for accepting a strong centralized government. Nothing else than this belief can account for the attitude taken by so enlightened a body of men as the German Social-Democrats in the crisis which faced them in 1914. They knew very well that no other government in Europe was doing as much for the classes to which they exhibit a passionate devotion as was

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

the government of their Empire. I do not believe that any government would be strong enough to hold down the German nation, educated as it is and united as it is, if that nation felt that it was suffering under a tyranny.

One question remains which may naturally present itself to the mind of the American. German education does not consist merely in the imparting of information. The German is trained to discipline from his earliest years. He learns when young to obey, and this discipline is capped later by his years of military service. Does he suffer in independence of character, in a capacity for taking the initiative, in efficiency? The question is a very fair one. There are few gains which must not be purchased at the expense of some loss.

Undoubtedly he who is habitually conscious of his place in a larger organism is rendered less inclined to quite independent action for which there is no precedent. I think the young American impresses one as being, in practical matters, at least, a more independent man than the average young German. Whether this does

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

or does not add to his efficiency as a member of the state is another question. That German efficiency as a whole has not been diminished by the training to which Germans are subjected has been made sufficiently evident both in peace and in war. In peace, by the extraordinary development of Germany since the foundation of the Empire; in war, by what the Germans have done on land and sea since August, 1914

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND MILITARISM

**I** FIND no institution in Germany more misunderstood by the average American than is the German army. It is not that we do not hear enough about it. We hear about it until we are tired of the subject. But the organization of the whole military system remains to us a sealed book.

We are told that the strength of the German army, on a peace footing, is over half a million men. The number seems appalling. What can one do with so many soldiers in time of peace? Thousands of us visit Germany every year, and we see soldiers everywhere. We hear the measured tramp of the sons of Mars in the otherwise quiet streets of many towns. The cafés are apt to be gay with uniforms. On the morning after I spent my first night in Germany, I was awak-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ened by the march of a passing regiment, and sprang to the window to see the unaccustomed sight. What is this standing army of which we hear so much, and which forces itself upon our attention when we visit our Teutonic neighbors? How does it happen that it is composed almost exclusively of soldiers who are little more than boys?

### WHAT IS THE GERMAN ARMY?

The figures which I shall give are those of the year 1910, the last accurate published statistics which I have been able to obtain. In 1910 the army, on a peace footing consisted of 505,839 men. To this number must be added 14,000 "one-year volunteers" ("Einjährige"), to be described below, 85,234 non-commissioned officers and 25,519 commissioned officers.

These numbers do not quite do justice to the force which was in existence before the outbreak of the war of 1914. In 1867 it was determined by law in Prussia that the army should embrace one per cent. of the population. This became the German standard, but population increased so

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

fast that it was found impracticable to increase the army correspondingly. Since 1910 some effort has been made to bring the force up to the proportion indicated. The number of officers counted upon for the present year I cannot give exactly, but the number of soldiers looked forward to for 1915 was 661,478.

### HOW MANY ARE PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS?

It is a colossal blunder to suppose that this army, which is, of course, enormous, is composed of professional soldiers. The common soldiers — the overwhelming majority — are youths who are undergoing a military training, and who have no intention of being soldiers at all, unless their country should be overwhelmed by the calamity of a war. The tens of thousands of soldiers whom the American tourist sees as he travels about, he would find, could he trace them a year later, or the year after that, tilling the fields, mining coal and iron, serving as industrial workers, standing behind the counters in shops, collecting fares on the tram-lines, acting as engineers, brakemen or porters in the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

service of the railways. The man whom he sees in uniform to-day will sit beside him to-morrow on the benches of the medical school, and will have no thought save of his future career as a physician. When he goes to a restaurant for his luncheon, he will be waited on by a man who marched with the rest a few years back, but who is, and always intends to remain, a waiter.

The truth is that the standing army of Germany is no more and no less than a school. The officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, correspond to the teachers. They are relatively permanent. But the pupils go to the school to get through with it and to get out again. It is not a profession to go to school.

### THE CITIZEN-ARMY

'Able-bodied young men in all walks in life are supposed to pass through the school in question. Most of them serve in the infantry, and their school-course covers two years. Those who serve in the cavalry or in the horse-artillery must have three years' training. During this time the state takes possession of them and pays all their

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

expenses. The training is thorough and the discipline rigid. Through them a vast number of young men learn for the first time what it is to put forth real effort and to obey.

The whole military duty of the young citizen is not fulfilled when his years of training are over. At some time during the five years following he must undergo three further periods of training covering, respectively, ten weeks, six weeks, and four weeks. The dates of these are left somewhat indefinite, and may be determined for example, by a change in army equipment and the necessity of becoming acquainted with a new weapon.

It is evident that the German government makes rather heavy demands upon the time of her able-bodied male population. The time is not wholly lost, even apart from the question of the necessity of making sacrifices for the defense of the nation. It is claimed, both by those interested in matters educational and by many employers of labor, that what is gained in discipline, orderly habits, cleanliness and prompt obedience, goes far to make up for what is lost

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

in time. Some go as far as to maintain that the astonishing development which German industries have to show, as a result of the last decades, is in part due to the discipline to which the workmen have been subjected. How far those who speak thus are unconsciously influenced by patriotic feeling, and how far their position is unbiased, and rests merely upon an extended experience with the classes in question, I have no means of knowing. That the severe and impartial discipline to which young men are subjected at a formative period of their lives has no little influence upon their character and habits, and that the influence is, on the whole, good, I think I can testify from personal observation.

Of the training and conditions of life of the "one-year volunteers" I shall speak under the next heading. I think the facts I have given are sufficient to indicate that the German standing army is a "citizen-army."

It shares this characteristic with the armies of other European nations who have fallen back upon the principle of short term compulsory military service. The conditions are so different

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

in America and in England that it has seemed worth while to enter into the matter somewhat in detail. The German army does not consist of professional soldiers. All classes of the population, from the highest to the lowest, pass through this school. The nobleman and the peasant, the judge on the bench and the door-keeper of his court, the physician and the man who drives his carriage, the university professor and the man-servant, the wealthy manufacturer and the man who takes his wage, all have "served." And, for a certain period of their lives, all have been treated alike, for the army handles recruits of all classes with ungloved hands.

The standing army is, as I have said, the school; those who have graduated, the alumni, must take their place in the army in time of war. Whether in peace or in war, the force is fairly comparable to a militia, training for which is compulsory, and which makes rather heavy demands on those who are enlisted in it. It is worthy of remark that, small as it is, the British army represents about twice as many profes-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

sional soldiers as are to be found in the German army.

### THE CITIZEN-OFFICER

The "one-year volunteers," as they are called, are young men of education who present themselves for military training, and who themselves pay the expense of their board, lodging and equipment during the year, for which they are obliged to serve.

The rule is that the young man privileged to take his military training under such conditions must have passed through the first six years of the nine-year course of a German secondary school. In other words he must have an education about equal to that of the graduate of an American high-school. It is claimed that recruits thus educated can learn as much in one year as the average recruit in two, and that they enjoy a high average of intelligence. Their expenses during their year of service are reckoned at from four hundred to five hundred and fifty dollars.

At the end of half a year these "one-year"

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

men are divided into two classes. Those who appear especially well fitted for military service, and who have given a very good account of themselves during their first months of training, receive for the second half of the year special courses of instruction. At the close of the year there comes an examination which determines whether they may enter upon the path which leads to the dignity of enrollment in the "Reserve-Officer" class.

Whether the young man shall or shall not become a "candidate" is left to his own choice. Should he choose the honor, he must undergo the further periods of training demanded of all who have served. After that, he can, if elected, become a "Reserve-Officer." The election is made by the "Reserve-Officer Corps" of the regiment which he will enter. Before he is elected, his qualifications, including his character, his manner of life, and any peculiarities which may affect his standing as an officer, are thoroughly looked into.

The "Reserve-Officer" is, thus, a citizen-officer, not a soldier by profession. The men who have

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

elected him to the position have had the training which he has had, and are, like himself, civilians. That he must bind himself to more periods of training of from six to eight weeks, does not take him out of the civilian class. He and his colleagues are lawyers, architects, business men, teachers and the like. But they have learned how to take command, in time of emergency, of bodies of troops. I have heard, from military sources, that during the present war (1915) these militia-officers have proved themselves so efficient that the officer-corps of the German army is in the future more likely to extend itself in this direction than in that of the professional officers. This is, of course, mere hearsay, but it comes from good sources.

### THE SOLDIER BY PROFESSION

We have seen that, in 1910, there were, in the German army 85,234 non-commissioned officers and 25,519 commissioned officers.

These classes, and these classes alone, comprise the body of those who may properly be called soldiers by profession. Taken together they number about 110,000 men, no very large

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

number in a population so enormous as is that of the German Confederation. These men are paid for their services in the army, others are not.

I say that the others are not paid, but perhaps I should modify my statement a little. Those who are undergoing their military training receive a pittance which can only be regarded as pocket-money. Thus, the infantry soldier is granted about two dollars and fifteen cents a month. This can scarcely be considered as a wage earned during the two years of his service. No man would work for such a wage.

The non-commissioned officers are supposed to serve for twelve years. After that civil positions are found for them. They are picked men, disciplined and reliable, and their services are valued as members of the police-force, guardians of museums, etc.

The commissioned officers receive a special training, as do army officers in the United States. They may grow old in the service. We often hear of them as a privileged class, and they undoubtedly enjoy a good deal of social consideration. But privileged to draw a large salary, or even

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

what the American would regard a proper salary, they are not. A commanding general in the German army receives about three-fourths of the salary of a professor in Columbia University; a colonel receives about half as much as the American scholar in question. Living is not cheap in Germany at present, and one has to make sacrifices for the privilege of being an officer. Why do men make them?

I suppose they are moved by considerations analogous to those which lead some Americans of ability and energy to take to science or art rather than to business. With some it is a family tradition; some like the life; some think of the social consideration.

Certain it is that, if indeed the Germans have saddled themselves with a burden of any kind, those among them who have embraced the profession of arms carry their full share of it. The so-called "privileged caste" enjoys no civil rights not enjoyed by Germans generally, and its members are not unfamiliar with privation. In personal intercourse with them I have not found them overbearing, but, on the contrary,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

uniformly courteous. I cannot but think that those of my countrymen who have a different report to make have, through their ignorance of the German language or unfamiliarity with German social usages, brought upon themselves what might easily have been avoided.

### THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND THE ARMY

Doubtless there are Germans who would rather not have to spend two or three years in the school furnished by the army. No American keenly enjoys paying taxes. But sensible Americans regard it as necessary that taxes should be paid, and good Americans pay them with a good grace. However, military service in Germany is by no means as unpopular as is the payment of taxes in America. From a wide experience, and with men of many classes, I am forced to conclude that the service is not unpopular with young men generally. All classes are obliged to serve, so that no one feels that he is discriminated against. Nor are the years of service, apparently, generally disliked. Stupid men, lazy men, and men to whom discipline of

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

any kind is distasteful, of course suffer hardship. The American tramp would find his years in the barracks unendurable.

Young Germans generally seem proud of having served. I have remarked in many instances that those who have been released from the duty, on the ground of physical incapacity, have been ashamed of their immunity. The army is not unpopular with the masses of the population. It should be noted that the size of the army is determined by vote of the "Reichstag," and the "Reichstag" is the creature of universal suffrage. The German nation has the army it wants to have. It may or may not be misguided, it may or may not allow itself to be persuaded, but the German military system is the expression of its will and represents its judgment of what is called for by the situation of the nation.

### IS MILITARISM GERMAN?

We hear so much of German militarism that we need to remind ourselves that militarism is by no means peculiarly German. Neither in the size of its army, nor in the presence of a warlike

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

spirit, does the nation enjoy any bad preeminence above other European nations. Indeed, it would be more just to maintain that the opposite is the case.

The German army does not compare in size with that of Russia, and, for forty-four years after the foundation of the Empire, it showed itself to be a very peaceful force. During this period the Russian army has constantly been used as a weapon of aggression, Russia's last great war—that with her present ally Japan—being brought about by the seizure of Chinese territory to which she had no other claim than the desire to possess it. Russia's invasion of the territories surrounding her can only be compared to the inundations caused by a rising tide. She is always aggressive, and needs a strong bulwark to hold her back.

Nor is France without an army. She has, in fact, an army approximately equal to that of Germany, and yet her population is less than two-thirds as great, and her geographical position is a more fortunate one, for she can be effectively attacked by land on only one side. And

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

if we use the term "militarism" to indicate, not the existence of a great army, but the presence of a warlike spirit, we must surely recognize that public opinion in France has been for decades vastly more militaristic than in Germany. The latter nation has had no desire to attack France, whereas the present-day Frenchman has been brought up to cherish the thought of a revenge to be attained with the cooperation of Russia.

Finally, what shall we say of British militarism? Here let us use a new word. A man may defend himself with a knife, with a revolver, or with some other weapon. And he may justly be regarded as aggressive if he attacks his neighbors, whether near or remote, with any weapon he regards as most convenient and most effective. The English are a practical people, and they have provided themselves most abundantly with the weapons which they find that they can use most effectively. In other words, England has cultivated "navalism" as no other nation has cultivated it, and that for generations past. We are all so accustomed to this phenome-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

non that it excites little comment even among those who declaim against militarism. That a little island off the coast of Europe should be able to hold in subjection vast populations in Asia, and, entering into an alliance with an Asiatic power which has also, in quite recent years, embarked upon a career of navalism, should dictate to other nations the terms upon which men may be allowed to live and to trade in the Pacific, appears to be taken rather as a matter of course.

I think no man in his senses would maintain that navalism differs from militarism in being only a weapon of defense. The British Empire was not built up by a fleet that confined itself to patrolling the coast of England, nor did the Japanese take Korea by staying at home and defending their own ports. It is worthy of remark that no nation is as militaristic as Great Britain is "navalistic." There is none that deliberately holds before itself the ideal of an army larger by ten per cent. than the armies of any two other powers.

I speak of the militarism of the nations above-mentioned, not at all in a spirit of criticism,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

for here I wish to express no opinion at all, whether favorable or the reverse, on the subject of armaments. I only wish to emphasize the fact that militarism, or its equivalent, is by no means the peculiar possession of Germany. To what, then, is the curious circumstance due, that we should hear so much about German militarism, rather than about that of some other nation? And why should we Americans, of all men, trouble ourselves about it? The peculiar form of militarism which I have called "navalism" is far more menacing to us, isolated as we are, than is the land-militarism which obtains in so many of the European countries.

## WHY IT IS CALLED GERMAN

I can discover only three reasons why militarism should so often be spoken of as if it were "made in Germany."

The first is that United Germany is a young nation, and has, as a result of its union, developed a remarkable strength. The country has been prospering as our own great land has been pros-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

pering. No one in Europe has as yet grown accustomed to the thought of German domination in any sphere. For a hundred years men have been familiarized with British "spheres of influence," "protectorates" and "annexations." If Germany held Gibraltar, it would not only be an insult to Spain, but an intolerable tyranny set up at the gates of the Mediterranean. If Germany held Malta, Italy would feel deeply wronged. If Germany first occupied, and then annexed, Egypt, taking possession of the Suez Canal, it would be regarded as more than a wrong to Turkey; it would be a selfish occupation of the public highway between Europe and Asia. What men are accustomed to they rarely feel to be much of a burden, and the rise of the German nation is something to which Europe has not had time to grow accustomed. I may say that the great increase in the wealth, power and influence of our United States within the last generation has aroused much the same feeling in Europe as the rise of Germany. As, however, it seems rather hopeless to do anything to a land as big as ours and situated as ours is,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

~~men~~ adjust themselves to the situation with the best grace at their command.

The second reason for calling militarism German is the admirable organization and great efficiency of the German army. The size of the force has little to do with it. As has been pointed out, the Russian army is vastly larger, but it is, like most things in Russia, sadly inefficient, so we hear little of Russian militarism, and it occurs to no one to start a propaganda to relieve Russians of its "yoke." But if German efficiency makes militarism German, it ought to make all sorts of other things German, too, for the same efficiency shows itself everywhere. It is apparent in agriculture, in forestry, in the chemical industries, in the organization of the system of education, in social legislation, in the administration of municipalities. Are all these things peculiarly German?

The third and last reason that there is so much talk of German militarism is that Germany has, within the last decades, built up a fleet. It is not a fleet of overwhelming proportions, but it is, like the army, efficient. Such as it is, it has

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

caused no little anxiety to Germany's neighbor across the North Sea. For generations this neighbor has felt secure in the possession of the control of the waterways of the world. A cloud bigger than a man's hand has appeared on the horizon, and it has made a sensation. From travel in various European countries, from conversations with Europeans of many nationalities, and from a perusal of the European newspapers, I should be inclined to attribute to this third and last reason no small share in the attention which has been drawn to German militarism.

### SUMMARY.

We see, thus, that the German army is, in reality, a citizen-army, the number of those who are soldiers by profession being relatively small. The "nation in arms" is *not* a nation in arms, but is a nation trained to bear arms in case of need. Undoubtedly the demanding of so long a period of service from its able-bodied citizens is a burden to the nation; and I should think no sensible German would attempt to defend

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

it save on the score of necessity. It is not, however, a burden which appears to have interfered seriously with the economic welfare of Germany.

The soldiers we see in Germany are not soldiers by profession. Soon they will go back to their homes and take up the peaceful occupations which are to fill their lives. Germany's real occupation is not war. Her attention is given to agriculture, manufactures, commerce, education, science, literature, music, painting, and to the working out of a social organization that guarantees to the masses of her population the enjoyment of those goods reserved, in some countries accounted civilized, rather for the few.

In this her real work Germany has been eminently successful. It is a work carried on by her citizen-soldiers. It is not easy to draw the line in Germany between those who are connected with the army and those who are not. In a certain sense of the words, almost all able-bodied men belong to the army, if they are not too young or too old. This does not prevent them from being civilians, and doing, with the in-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

dustury and thoroughness characteristic of the Germans, the work of civilians.

Still, most of them have, I think, a certain pride in their connection with the army. There are differences of opinion in Germany, as there are with us; but the mass of the Germans regard their army as a necessity, and it is not unpopular. Nevertheless, the German repudiates with very good reason the imputation that militarism is peculiarly German, or that his countrymen are by nature aggressive and predatory. The German makes a good soldier on occasion, but he is equally good as a clerk or as a professor. He strikes the foreigner as filling his leisure time with the mildest of pleasures—listening to music, taking walks in the country, feeding the birds in the public gardens. These are not the occupations of the professional warrior.

## CHAPTER V

### THE PROFIT AND LOSS OF MILITARISM

**I**T is decidedly a loss to spend time and money in acquiring that of which one has no need. That which they pressingly need men of all nations and all classes make earnest efforts to secure. The American on his first visit to Europe is impressed with the facility shown by the waiter in hotel and restaurant in speaking a variety of tongues which he himself either cannot speak at all, or which he has, by infinite effort and with the aid of masters, learned to speak hesitatingly. It is not that the European waiter is a cultivated man. It is that the conditions of his life make it necessary for him to be able to converse in their own tongue with men of many nations, and he travels from land to land, working his way and learning what is a part

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

of his trade. To us the speaking of several languages is an elegant accomplishment, not a necessity of life, not even a great convenience. Those who are in a position to allow themselves such accomplishments may devote themselves to them. Our world speaks English, and the minority, to whom it is not the mother-tongue, must adjust themselves to our convenience.

So it is in every field of human endeavor. The amount of effort it is worth while to put forth must be measured by the gains which are to be expected, or by the evils which are to be warded off. An excess of effort is an unwarranted expenditure; a deficiency may result in a loss out of proportion to the immediate gain which has been made. To be sure, any man may make a miscalculation, and may suffer loss in spite of his best endeavors. And with the justice of his calculations we may or may not be in sympathy.

### MILITARISM IN GERMANY AND IN AMERICA

We Americans have heard a great deal of the burden of German militarism. We have been taught that it is a crushing weight to Germany,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

and we have heard from various sources that it is a menace to European civilization.

Of what the word really stands for I think most of us have no very intelligent notion, for we are imperfectly acquainted, as is unavoidable, with the conditions that prevail in Europe. We live under conditions so different that it is difficult for us to realize the significance even of facts that are truly brought before us, and facts are not always truly brought before us. Why should there be militarism of any sort in Germany? At any rate, why, if it exists at all, should it not be intermittent, as with us? In America we have brief attacks of militarism, as at the time of the Spanish-American War, or when there is talk of a possible war with Mexico or with Japan; but militarism, as a permanent condition of things, does not exist. And if it is not to be met with in the Great Republic, why should it exist in Germany? The American who is not acquainted with Germany and with the position in which she finds herself can find no answer to this question. An answer is, however, not far to seek.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

### THE MILITARY SPIRIT IN GERMANY

In discussing the military spirit in Germany I cannot do better than to borrow a little from papers which I printed some months ago. A further experience has only confirmed my impressions.

The Germans are a peace-loving people. We Americans know that there is no element in our own population more orderly, industrious and law-abiding, than the German element. The German in Germany has the same characteristics. The land is an orderly land, and the population is enlightened, disciplined and educated to respect the law. No one who lives among the Germans and learns to know them can feel that he has to do with an aggressive and predatory people. And those who spent in Germany, as I did, the month of August, 1914, mingling freely in the crowds on the streets during the two weeks of the mobilization, when the public excitement was the greatest, can only wonder that a people so peaceable and self-restrained should be capable of the daring courage which has since stormed

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

fortresses, and has gathered laurels on land and sea in a way which compels the admiration of all who have not been kept in ignorance of the facts.

Yet this orderly and peace-loving people, a people which has not only loved peace, but which for more than forty years kept the peace, while other nations carried on wars, a people that has, in the pursuit of the arts of peace, grown exceedingly rich and prosperous—this people has all the while trained the mass of its male population to be prepared for war in case of emergency, and has built up a formidable fleet. Finally, it has gone to war against what seemed, at first, to be overwhelming odds, and the rising has been not that of a class, but of a nation. Neither the emperor, nor the government, nor the officers in the army and the navy were responsible for the public sentiment which made this movement in Germany a national uprising. Even the Social-Democrats and those of a kindred way of thinking, men who have never been accused of servility to the emperor or the government, nor suspected of a weakness for army and navy, stood by their country to a man,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

and fought bravely and died without a complaint at the front. In the past months I have not met with a German of any class from the highest to the lowest, who has not been heart and soul for the war. I have heard no laments from those who have sent their sons; I have heard no criticism of their country from those who have been bereaved, and I know many such.

A strange phenomenon to be observed among a peaceable and industrious race, a race as devoted to the cultivation of the sciences and arts as it is to industrial pursuits; a civilized race, not one living in a state of barbarism and to which war is welcome, a diversion rather than a calamity. To the American who cannot put himself in the place of the German, it is an inexplicable phenomenon. What possessed the Germans to prepare for war on a great scale? What drove them to fight even against a world in arms, and to stake their all in the gigantic contest?

### THE REAL SITUATION OF THE GERMAN

Let me help the American to put himself in the place of the German. We Americans inhabit a

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

land more than four-fifths the size of all Europe including Russia. It is fifteen times the size of the German Empire, and has only about one hundred millions of inhabitants, so that we are in the position of a family occupied in growing up to fill a large and well-furnished house. It does not cross our mind that our neighbors, either near or remote, can seriously frighten us. Who could invade us with any hope of success? Who could threaten our national existence, or subject us to anything approaching a state of bondage?

To the north of us is Canada—an empty house, a country with only seven million inhabitants, which could not hurt us even if it wished to do so. To the south is Mexico, which can make trouble within her own borders and can cause some Americans to regret their investments there, but which is no more formidable to the United States than an unruly class in a school. To the west and to the east we have the broad sea. Japan might quarrel with us, and might be a detriment to some of our foreign trade. But Japan is far from us, and we know very well that she is

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

too poor, and will be long too poor, to carry on a long-continued war. At the most, Japan can only annoy us. That European states should, singly or combined, crush us, is a contingency too remote to fall within our horizon. As much of an army and as much of a fleet as we think necessary to our purposes we freely call into being, nor does it occur to us to ask the permission of any other power before increasing either. Why should Mr. Carnegie fill his house with bread, as a provision against a possible famine in the State of New York? Why should Mr. Rockefeller store gold and silver coins in a stocking and hide them in his mattress? The occupant of a Nebraska farm who should build a seaworthy boat, in order to be ready for all emergencies, we should regard as out of his mind. We Americans do what seems to us prudent and practical under the conditions which prevail in America, and we have no more need for the German army than has a Philadelphia Quaker, at his Yearly Meeting, for a revolver. What we think we really need, however, we set about with much energy to obtain.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

But suppose that our territory were not too large to be invaded. Suppose that, to the north of us, we had a great land with a vast population of more than one hundred millions, under an autocratic government, boasting, even in time of peace, an immense army. Suppose that this land had for many decades shown a restless activity in extending its borders at the expense of its neighbors, where it had found them too weak to resist aggression. Suppose that its population was upon a plane of civilization far less advanced than our own; so little advanced, indeed, that the overwhelming majority were compelled to live in what civilized men must regard as a condition of distressing misery, ignorant, dumb, passive, a tool in the hands of a bureaucratic class which would not be the first to suffer from the added miseries entailed by a state of war. Suppose that we had information that this neighbor of ours had for some time been massing its troops upon its borders in a way that could only be interpreted as a menace.

Again, let us suppose that we had to the south of us, not Mexico, but a rich, resourceful, and

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

highly civilized nation of forty million inhabitants, with a large army, formidable, well-drilled, and well-equipped with all that is necessary to carry on successfully modern warfare. Suppose that this nation had for forty years made no secret of the fact that it was animated by a bitter sentiment of resentment against us and hoped some day to have its revenge. Suppose that it stood in relations with the power above described and also with a third power to be mentioned below, such that we had reason to fear that they might act in concert to our detriment.

Now let us extend our suppositions to cover the case of this third power. Suppose that we did not have the broad sea upon our borders to east and west, with the trade routes of the world open to us, but that there existed a third power so fortunately situated as to be inaccessible by land and yet in direct control of our only available outlets to the sea. Suppose that our foreign commerce was far more important to our prosperity than it is—that our prosperity was in large measure based upon our export

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

trade. Suppose that the third power in question was rich enough to maintain a navy equal to our own combined with that of any other great power with which we might contract an alliance, and openly avowed its intention to retain control of the sea by maintaining this proportion. Suppose that its control of the sea even made it possible for this power to cut international cables, and only let through to the world so much regarding what we did or what others did to us as seemed to it in accordance with its policy. Suppose that this power had an "understanding" with the two described above, and we had reason to fear that it might join them should they attack us.

### THE GERMAN DEFENSE OF MILITARISM

How would we Americans accept such a situation? I know my Americans. I have lived through the Spanish War, and have seen a university emptied of professors and students eager to fight under the flag of their country. Yet the Spanish War was to America, a very small and

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

unimportant affair. Spain could no more crush the United States and reduce our country to virtual subjection than it could stay the moon in its revolutions. Were our land really in danger, or did we believe our land to be in danger, what would happen in the United States? Would we be peaceable and patient, anxious to make concessions, willing to give up territory, eager to limit, under compulsion, our army and navy? Would we humbly declare our readiness to step out of the race for industrial success, or to ask permission of another power for access to the trade routes of the world? I know my Americans, and such questions strike me as broadly humorous.

Germans, in defending their militarism—they dislike the word, by the way, for they claim to be a peaceful people forced to take an attitude of self-defense—Germans, in defending their militarism, argue just as we Americans would argue, were we in the same position. Those of us who come much in contact with educated and intelligent Germans have heard them reason about as follows:

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

“Why in the world should we, above other peoples, be asked to deprive ourselves of a means of defense that seems to us essential to our welfare, and even to our national existence? We have shown abundantly that we wish to be allowed to carry on our industries in peace. But our great neighbor to the north is not so civilized that it regards a state of war with abhorrence. In fact it is always at war with someone, and it is a constant menace to us. Our neighbor to the west is civilized, but is embittered, and has for a generation made no secret of a hostile intent. The private person who lives between two hostile families may appeal to the police to keep them in order. But where is the police to whom Germany may appeal to compel Russia to be civilized and France to be peaceable? There exists as yet no such police.

“Moreover, we beg you to remember that the real reason of the outcry which has been raised over our militarism is not that we have maintained an army, but rather that we have built a fleet. A nation not menaced as we are, and which, hence, has only wanted enough of an

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

army to hold in subjection nations which it has conquered in various parts of the earth, has filled the world with clamor because we have built a fleet about half as big as its own. It does not want other nations to sail to and fro upon the sea as it does, for it regards the sea as its own peculiar property. What we Germans cannot understand is by what reasoning it can be proved that English trade needs to be protected by an English fleet, but that German trade should not be protected by a German fleet at all.

“And, lastly, we beg you to bear in mind that it is not the man to whom a state of peace is peculiarly profitable that seeks pretexts for breaking the peace. During the past forty years Germany has been exceedingly prosperous. The Germans seem especially adapted for the attainment of success by dint of industry and intelligence and along the path of peaceful competition. Would it ever occur to us to undertake the thankless task of invading Russia? As to France, we want the French to be our allies against the uncivilized East. And why should Germany attack

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

England? German trade has, under existing conditions, been overtaking that of England by leaps and bounds, and Germans would like nothing better than a continuance of such peaceful conditions. Peace has not seemed equally profitable to other nations, and that is the real cause of the present terrible war. War is a scourge to us as to other nations, but there is something that would be still worse. That something is the delivery of Germany into the hands of those who would crush her with a view to their own profit."

In other words, the Germans, in defending their militarism, point out that they kept their very efficient army, for nearly half a century, as a weapon of defense exclusively, showing no disposition to trespass upon the territories of their neighbors. They maintain that the Germany of to-day is a commercial nation, has interests in many quarters of the globe, and should, therefore, have a fleet, if any nation should have a fleet. That a nation of seventy millions, with important commercial interests to guard, should be forced to creep in and out of the English

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Channel under the condition of having the permission of a smaller nation, they find intolerable. They say that we Americans, who are eminently a practical people, have thought it worth while to build a fleet which is very formidable, and yet no one imagines that, even were we wholly cut off from the rest of the world, we could be starved into submission. It has not been so clear to all that Germany could maintain herself were she denied all access to the sea.

If any German has heretofore had doubts whether, for her access to the sea, it might be acquiesced in that Germany be left dependent upon the good-will of some other nation, those doubts have recently been laid finally to rest. In February, 1915, the importance to Germany of a free communication with foreign lands was brought home to me in a very peculiar way, and one which impressed me even more than the precautions the imperial government was compelled to take to insure my having a supply of bread. As a member of the governing board of the American Red Cross Hospital in Munich, I received a letter informing me that our National

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Red Cross in Washington was unable to send us hospital supplies without obtaining the permission of the British Embassy in Washington. The Germans, of course, feel, in the face of such a situation, about as we should, did we have a desperate struggle upon our hands and multitudes of wounded to care for, and were we dependent, in order to obtain medicines and bandages, upon the consent of the Japanese Ambassador in London.

Under the existing circumstances, Germany has, for maintaining a strong army, imperative reasons. They are reasons which would fall away of themselves, were Germany situated as we are, but Germany is not situated as we are. And the Germans appear to have reasons at least as imperative for maintaining such a fleet as will secure their free access to the sea. Both army and fleet seem to be essential, if Germany is to remain a free and independent nation. Whether it is or is not desirable that she should remain a free and independent nation is a question to be answered according to one's point of view. We Americans, were we the nation in

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

question, would not regard the matter as a subject for debate at all.

### THE COSTS OF UNION

We Americans, between 1861 and 1865, paid very heavily for the privilege of remaining one nation. Business was paralyzed; men were taken from their wonted peaceful occupations; blood and treasure were poured out without stint. There are few Americans now who do not think that the gain was worth the sacrifice.

The Germans know that, during the long peace which endured from 1871 to 1914, they paid rather heavily for the privilege of maintaining their union. The mass of the able-bodied males among them have been compelled to interrupt their peaceful vocations for from one to three years. A certain number of men have been compelled to devote their whole lives to the art of war. And the direct expense of maintaining the Empire has been greater than was at first contemplated. The army and the navy, although maintained at an expense to the citizen considerably less than that paid in certain neigh-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

boring states, have cost great sums, nevertheless, and these sums have come from the pockets of the tax-payers. There have been those who have asked themselves seriously whether such sums might not with prudence be considerably reduced. Some have advocated drastic reforms, and a general reduction in expenditures.

### THE COSTS OF DISUNION

Why should not the German states content themselves with a looser union, if, indeed, they wish to remain united at all? Why should they bear the burden of empire and go to an enormous expense to defend the confederation by land and by sea?

To this question the history of Germany furnishes a more than sufficient answer. We Americans, happy people, have no such painful and humiliating past to look back upon.

The ancient Empire, although it was not formally dissolved until 1806, was, for centuries preceding, little more than a venerable shadow. It had extended its palsied hand over some three hundred territorial sovereignties, which it could

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY.

neither control nor protect. German principality warred against German principality, and it was the occupation of foreign rulers to foment discords among the German states and to profit by them. Germany, more than any land, has suffered from predatory expeditions. Any excuse was sufficient to give rise to disorders—the ambition of a prince, the desire for booty, the expressed intention to promote the interests of a given form of religious faith. The Thirty Years' War, waged largely by undisciplined bands for the sake of plunder, found Germany inhabited by twenty million inhabitants, and, with unheard of cruelty, brought down the population to about one-fourth of that number. It was the reign of anarchy; starving men were reduced to cannibalism; civilization was destroyed. The petty princes were not slow to profit by the helplessness of their subjects and their rule became more arbitrary.

Such pictures are too distressing to dwell upon, but they are burned into the memory of the German. And long after this melancholy period Germany remained disunited, helpless, and a

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

prey to humiliations. The new constitution of Germany, as determined, after the fall of Napoleon, by the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, did not have to deal with several hundred petty sovereignties, for little more than a tenth of them had survived. It concerned itself with the rights of a reasonable number of states. But neither at that time, nor for many years afterwards, did the German attain to a real union and independence. For the mass of the Germans these were won for the first time in 1871, with the founding of the present Empire.

The disadvantages of disunion had been endured for centuries. In some ages they were wholly unendurable, and resulted in indescribable misery, as we have seen. At other periods they showed themselves merely in political humiliation, in the subordination of the interests of Germany to those of non-German powers, and in great economic disadvantage. Until recently Germany has been accounted a poor country, and has been a poor country. But its poverty has been largely due to political causes, not to those properly economic.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

What would become of the vast internal trade of our forty-eight states, were the United States to dissolve into three hundred practically independent territorial sovereignties, a prey to mutual jealousies, and carrying on their affairs with little reference to each other? What would become of it, if, like the Germany of 1815, we consisted of thirty-nine states so loosely welded together as to form no nation, but rather, a weak coalition with more than one center of gravity and incapable of united action for the common interest? What would be our outlook had we powerful neighbors, and bonds of union, political and economic, so loose that rather shrewd observers should feel justified in expecting groups of our states to break away from us and to join with aliens in war upon the other states? This was the situation in Germany as late as 1870. In spite of German history and its unmistakable lessons, Germans were expected to array themselves against Germans, and to further the plans of other peoples.

But in 1871 the mass of the Germans formed themselves into a nation, subordinating the war-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ring interests of the dynasties to the common good of the German people. Once divided and weak, regarded by other nations with a good-natured contempt, the Germans have become united and powerful. The strong command respect, and the respect is sometimes mingled with fear. This is to be expected; the Germans have come to their birthright much later than other nations, and men ask themselves with some anxiety what they intend to do with it.

### THE PROFIT OF UNION

The union of the German states was only begun in 1871. The adoption of the constitution was the guarantee of real union, not the fulfilment.

Thus, legal reform was necessary. Nearly half a hundred systems of law, relics from the past, obtained in as many districts in Germany, and the limits of the districts were not even identical with those of the German states. The division of what had been a political unit had left a given town or village with a system of legal usages out of harmony with the legal usages of the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

unit of which it found itself later a part. There was endless confusion, and there was no system of rights common to Germans as such. The new Federal Government defined the rights of Germans in every corner of the Empire, and laid down the rules of civil and criminal procedure in all of the states.

It reformed the currency, a reform which was imperatively demanded. In 1871 Germany still had seven systems of currency. The banking laws were reformed. The railways and internal waterways of the nation were rendered serviceable to the common good. Hamburg and Bremen, the two great German ports which enjoyed a practical monopoly of the foreign commerce of Germany, were brought into the customs' union, to their great profit as well as to the profit of the country as a whole. In short, all the ancient barriers between the German states were broken down, with just the results that might have been expected. Germany became a great nation industrially and commercially. She is no longer a poor nation, but has prospered exceedingly. She is no longer content with her

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

rule of the kingdom of the air, i.e., with pre-eminence in philosophy, poetry and music, although it must be confessed that her material successes have not detracted from her activities in the realm of the arts and sciences. Still, she claims her place also on the land and on the sea. She wishes to enjoy the material rewards of her skill and industry. She has labored with success in the fields proper to the arts of peace, and she asks for her just share in the profits which the world is earning by its work.

### THE BALANCE

The re-birth of Germany is a recent event. The German nation is young and very vigorous. The great prosperity which it has come to enjoy is too much a matter of common notoriety to need description. I have myself watched the rising tide of prosperity for thirty years, the increase in general well-being, the growing pride of the German in the fact that he is a citizen of no mean city. As against the total gain to Germany, we must lay in the balance the expenses

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

of the Empire, including the expenditure for the army and navy. Has German "militarism" proved itself a crushing burden? Surely not to the German; he has never been so well off.

But might he not retain all the benefits of his present union while disbanding his army and dismantling his fleet? The intelligent German laughs at the question. "We have tried something like what you suggest," he answers, "and the result is recorded in history. Would you advise us to entrust our safety to the altruism of the Russians? The Finns, the Poles, and the inhabitants of the Baltic Provinces have had their experiences with that. Would you suggest our leaving the question of our protection to the French? The French have taken a share in our history before. Or would you think it more prudent for us to put ourselves under the protection of Great Britain?"

To the German, the question whether it would not be well for him to give up his present means of self-defense sounds as foolish as would to the Englishman the question whether it would not be a good thing for England to have no fleet at

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

**all. Were we in the position of the German and had we his history behind us, we should regard the expenses of the Empire as a very small price to pay for an immeasurable gain.**

## CHAPTER VI

### IMPERIALISM

**T**HE word "Imperialism" is a sufficiently ambiguous one, but its suggestions are to the American, on the whole, sinister. It suggests the brilliant, but ruthless and brutal career of an Alexander. It recalls the subjection of the civilized and half-civilized world to the tyranny of Rome. "Roman imperialism," we read, "had divided the world into master and slave," and the sentiment strikes us as peculiarly apt and expressive.

The militarism of Germany and the fact that the Germans have been building a fleet have filled the minds of certain timid and of many ill-informed persons with ominous forebodings. They think of the German, whom they have heretofore pictured to themselves as composing songs and setting them to music, dreaming dreams

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

with the philosophers, spending moon-struck hours in the endeavor to read a meaning into the second part of Goethe's *Faust*, smoking long pipes and watering the flowers in innumerable little window-gardens—they think of this idealistic, and by no means formidable, figure as having put on a new and menacing aspect. Once they believed him to be as harmless as a hen, and like the hen, a fit subject to be plucked and to be devoured. Now they regard him as a Hun, bent upon the conquest of the world and a danger to mankind. After having been caricatured in the one direction, the German must lend himself to being caricatured in the other.

We have seen, however, just what the militarism of Germany amounts to. It is a measure of defense which has been forced upon the nation, and it has put an end to a long chapter of humiliations. The building of the fleet has been the natural consequence of the industrial development of the nation, and the growth of its commerce. For a nation of seventy millions, highly civilized, conscious of its strength, depend-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

ent for a large part of its prosperity upon its foreign trade, to acquiesce tamely in the complete control of the sea-routes of the world by a nation of forty-five millions, however rich and however accustomed to the privilege, would argue sheer imbecility. We Americans would not tolerate such a situation for a moment.

It is not the mere possession of either army or fleet that gives Germany a share in the imperialism which characterizes so many nations, including our own. In the sense in which I am now using the word, a sense of it everywhere current at the present day, it is not being an empire that makes a country imperialistic. A republic—let us say, France—can be imperialistic just as well. Imperialism consists in the control exercised by a nation over peoples which cannot properly be regarded as belonging to it and truly sharing in its national life. Let us glance briefly at the imperialism of several great nations, and see whether Germany is more imperialistic than others.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

### GERMANY

We have seen that the German Confederation is a voluntary union of states which naturally seem to belong together. Their populations have, to an overwhelming degree, the same blood, the same language, and the same traditions and ideals of life. They are animated by a strong will to be one and they well know what they suffered when they were disunited. They are educated along the same lines and to the same degree. They form a close political unit, characterized by the enjoyment of universal manhood suffrage and a share in their own government. Their populations now aggregate nearly 70,000,000.

This nation controlled, in 1914, colonial possessions in Africa and in the Pacific, with a population of about 12,000,000.

The nation came very late, and came unwillingly, into the possession of a dominion across the seas. Bismarck, the empire-builder, was loath to embark upon the enterprise, and it may be said that the exigencies of trade forced the Ger-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

man gradually and hesitatingly to become the owner of foreign lands.

## THE UNITED STATES

The forty-eight states of our Union constitute a true nation. We have assimilated the foreigners who have come to us, or are rapidly assimilating them, and we may with justice call ourselves a nation of nearly 100,000,000 souls with a will to be one, enjoying the same political rights.

We control, in our dependencies, populations aggregating about 10,250,000. Most of these came under our control as a result of the war with Spain, and I suppose most Americans anticipated as little as I did, that the wards of the nation would be thus increased in number.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The British nation is, as nations go at the present time, a comparatively small one. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has a population of about 45,000,000, less than

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

half that of the United States, and about two-thirds that of the German Confederation. This population inhabits two small islands which cover, in extent of surface, about one-hundredth part of the land comprised within the limits of the British Empire. The population of the United Kingdom may, on the whole, be said to be animated by the will to be one, but this must be said with a reservation. About three-fourths of the population of the smaller island, Ireland, remain, after many centuries of British rule, inimical to England, and can scarcely be said to be willingly British.

The population of the United Kingdom constitutes the core of the British Empire, and its parliament governs the whole, in theory, at least. The Empire covers nearly one-fourth of the land surface of the globe, and its population numbers 421,000,000 persons, or nine times the population of the United Kingdom.

The colonial part of the Empire, with a population of 376,000,000, consists of about fifty commonwealths, some very small and some of enormous extent. A few of them are practically

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

self-governing; the majority are much more dependent than is commonly thought. All of them, without distinction, are colonies, that is to say, none shares in the government of the Empire, none has the rights of independent nations. What rights they have are, in theory, conferred upon them by the United Kingdom, and may be curtailed or withdrawn. They cannot declare war or make peace, nor can they have an independent representative in international affairs.

Of the 376,000,000 who compose this colonial empire about 18,500,000, are grouped into communities which may be said to be either willingly British, or in part willingly British. These communities are the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador, Australia and New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. Only in a very limited sense can the Union of South Africa be said to be willingly British. Some 4,600,000 of its 6,000,000 inhabitants are colored, and very few of them enjoy any political rights. Of the whites only two-fifths are of British origin. Much of the land was taken by conquest only fifteen years ago, as the result of

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

a bloody war, and there still appears to be a disposition to insurrection when there is any hope of throwing off the British yoke. Thus, about 13,000,000 of the 376,000,000 belonging to the British colonial empire are willingly British. They give up certain sovereign rights, either as a result of sentiment or with a view to certain political or economic advantages. They live, however, in countries very far removed from the British Islands, and their conditions of life are widely different. It cannot be maintained that their interests are identical with those of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. They are no true part of the British nation; they constitute, in reality, distinct nations, and have been developing a national consciousness.

The rest of the colonial empire, comprising in round numbers 360,000,000 souls, is ruled by the strong arm. By this I do not mean that the only weapon used is an armed force. Peoples may be ruled by an external power in a variety of ways. Race may be set off against race, religion against religion. Semi-civilized or barbarous rulers may be kept in submission by the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

payment of subsidies. Native states may be granted an apparent autonomy, and yet held in a state of subservience. But when all is said, we come back to the fact that hundreds of millions of human beings, scattered over the whole surface of the earth, are ruled by a mere handful dwelling upon two small islands off the coast of Europe, and that this vast dominion has been built up in the interests of a trade profitable primarily to that handful. England is sometimes pointed to as an illustration of the triumph of democracy. But the British Empire is as little democratic as any political power can be conceived to be. Only one British subject out of nine enjoys a share in its government.

I have no desire to maintain that the British Empire, such as it is, is badly governed. Attempts to secure independence are, as they always have been, put down with the strong hand. But those who remain contentedly British enjoy the benefits of British administrative capacity. I have wished only to call attention to certain palpable facts. The overwhelming mass of British subjects in no sense belong to the British nation.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

The Empire is a geographical expression. It is held together by an external force. The bond which prevents its dissolution is the colossal British fleet. Truly, in considering the facts, one is reminded of the power of ancient Rome. Here we have imperialism carried to its farthest practicable limit, and forcing itself upon our attention in every corner of the habitable globe. The courage of the undertaking commands our admiration.

## FRANCE

The French are a nation possessing a highly favored land, fertile and very productive, with ready access to the northern and southern seas, and by no means overpopulated or likely to be overpopulated, for the population is stationary.

Yet France thinks it worth while to hold colonial dominions second only in extent and importance to those of the British Empire. It has dependencies in Asia, Africa, America and Oceania, with a total population of some 44,000,000 souls, a number larger than that of the population of France. A considerable part of

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

these colonial possessions has been acquired since the foundation of the present Republic.

The original policy of France towards its subject populations was that of education and assimilation. She tried to make them French. But for more than a quarter of a century past, the hopelessness of compassing this end, and the realization that the colonies are to be regarded as valuable chiefly from a commercial point of view, have brought about a change of policy. Nevertheless, France is, in certain respects, more democratic in its treatment of its colonies than is Great Britain. Certain colonies have the right to elect representatives to the French legislature, and these representatives enjoy equal rights with those elected by constituencies in France.

## RUSSIA

The Russian Empire consists of an enormous stretch of land in Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, covering about one-sixth of the land surface of the globe. It is without oceanic possessions.

As I have said elsewhere, the spread of the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Muscovite dominion can be compared only to the inundations caused by a rising tide. Civilized peoples and barbarous tribes have alike been submerged. The process is repeated wherever there is a dam too weak to hold back the flood; it met with a decided check at the hands of Japan in 1904-1905, but such checks are temporary and their influence is local. The land-frontier of the Russian Empire in Europe and Asia extends over more than 12,000 miles, and there are many races and peoples who feel themselves menaced.

We think of the Russian Empire as inhabited by Slavs. The mass of the population is Slavic, but we must not forget that there are various Slavic peoples, some of them by no means closely related with, and by no means sympathetic to, others. We should also remember that the non-Slavic population of the Empire rivals in extent the population of France or that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Russian Empire represents a dominion, not a nation. It is not held together by an inner cohesive force, by the will to be one, by the free consent of the governed. The great mass of its

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

subjects are too little intelligent and too little informed to give a free and intelligent consent to anything. To compare the union of its peoples to that of the forty-eight states that form our Union would be grossly misleading. In short, Russia is imperialistic, and aggressively imperialistic, in the peculiar sense of the word with which I am concerned, and not merely in the sense that its ruler bears the title of emperor.

## VARIETIES OF IMPERIALISM

Enough has been said to show that countries differing widely from one another in their form of government and in the level of civilization upon which they stand may be imperialistic, if we use that word to indicate the control exercised by a nation over peoples which form no part of it—peoples who do not govern but are governed.

Naturally, those who are thus governed will be governed well or ill according to the measure in which those who exercise control over them are humane and enlightened or the reverse. It may be accepted as a maxim that subject peoples

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

are not held in subjection by other peoples for the good of the former, and as an experiment in altruism. Economic advantage, pride of dominion, the occupation of a vantage point with some ulterior aim, these are the springs of action that lead to colonial expansion. After a colony has been taken, it will, of course, be said in countries which are supposed to live upon a high moral plane, that it is better for the colonists to be governed in spite of themselves than to be left to their own devices or to the mercy of other dominant powers. But the whole history of colonization, now a long one, shows that this is an after-thought and an excuse.

Nevertheless, modern civilized nations will try to govern their dependencies in a civilized way. I have suggested that, to those who will submit to it, modern British colonial rule is not a bad one. The French have shown much the same spirit, and have even attempted to go farther. Neither Great Britain nor France has taken possession of a civilized race and deliberately degraded its civilization :

In Russia we meet with a different spectacle.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

In Finland, in the Baltic Provinces, in Poland, civilization has met with a distinct reverse. But this is because Russia is not yet a civilized power, as those words are understood in Western Europe. She has brought, or has tried to bring, her provinces down to her own level. To be brought to this level may be a rise for a Tartar horde; it is a fall for a European people.

### AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND GERMAN

If one will take a map indicating in colors the territorial growth of the United States, one will see something that suggests to the superficial observer the spread of the Muscovite dominion. The territory we occupied, or, rather, controlled, in 1783, constitutes less than a third of that now covered by our forty-eight states. On different parts of the great expanse taken over later we read the dates: 1803, 1810-1813, 1818, 1819, 1845; 1845-1848, 1846, 1848, 1853. Not all of this land came to us as the result of purchase or of peaceable negotiations.

Nevertheless, the land our states now cover is in no wise to be compared to the Russian

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Empire. In the main, our spread was that of a vigorous people into empty or relatively empty lands, and it was followed by rapid assimilation. We carried with us a civilization higher than that of the peoples whom we absorbed, and we granted to the new territories, as soon as they were ready to exercise it, the whole measure of freedom enjoyed by any of ourselves. From Maine to California, from North Dakota to Texas, the land is inhabited by Americans, who represent a singularly uniform type, who wish to be Americans, and who exercise the privilege of self-government. If the great tract of country over which we are spread must be compared to any empire, let it be compared to the German Empire, which is also a free union of civilized states, with a homogeneous population. Let it not be compared to the Russian Empire or to the British, which are something wholly different.

With the purchase of Alaska in 1867 the United States can scarcely be said to have entered upon a colonial policy. The land had, at that time, an estimated population of only 30,000, of

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

whom two-thirds were Eskimo and other Indians. Within twenty years, however, the United States has come into the possession of what may be called a small colonial empire in the seas both to the east and to the west. Its foreign interests have very considerably increased, and I do not believe that any American is, at the present day, in a position to say what people or peoples the exigencies of the future, as yet unknown, may bring wholly or partly under our control. One thing is certain. The American nation has not consciously started out upon a campaign of imperialism. We are not land-poor, for we inhabit an enormous stretch of country with boundless resources. In order to prosper, we are not compelled to take forcible possession of the lands of others. And I think another thing is certain. That is, that, to the average cultivated American, the thought is repugnant that we should seize the lands of other peoples with no other view than that of exploiting those peoples in our own material interests. There are, to be sure, Americans who do not stand upon so high a plane, but they are in the

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

minority. We gave Cuba back to the Cubans. It would offend the moral sense of such Americans, as are not moved by their own direct financial interest, to think that we should hold the Philippines, with no thought of the well-being of the native populations, and with an eye single to the development, in the interests of Americans, of the great natural resources of the islands.

I have thought it worth while to bring under the same heading American imperialism and German, for the two have not a few points in common. In the first place, both nations represent confederations of civilized states which naturally belong together; and in each case the colonial empire is not merely of limited extent but is of comparatively recent origin. Compared with the size of the nations controlling them, the populations controlled have been, up to the present, small.

In the second place, as American interests have become more largely international, it has seemed worth while to the United States to hold certain dependencies remote from our own shores. The same sentiment has come to obtain

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

in Germany, and it is the natural result of the great increase in the volume of Germany's foreign trade.

In the third place, the United States, in order to live and prosper, has not been compelled to seize the lands of foreign peoples. Neither has Germany. With colonies as yet comparatively insignificant, German thrift and intelligence have rendered the German states exceedingly rich and prosperous. Assured of peace, and under even moderately fair conditions of free competition in the markets of the world, the German has shown that he can hold his own as can the American. As things are, and with a land far smaller than our own, the German has found himself so well off at home that emigration from Germany has practically ceased.

And I think I can in all justice reiterate, in speaking of Germany, the two "certainties" mentioned above. I feel ready to affirm without hesitation that the German nation has not, in recent years, consciously started out upon a campaign of imperialism, as that word is commonly understood. Certain foolish Germans have

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

published intemperate books, and these books have been more read and commented upon in foreign lands than in the country in which they have been brought to the birth. This is entirely natural. Germany is a new nation and a strong nation. She inspires those, who before regarded her with a more or less kindly contempt, with the apprehension always inspired by strength. But in my many conversations with Germans of all classes, both military and civil, I have never heard the books in question discussed, unless I led up to the topic myself, which I was moved to do from a perusal of the English and American newspapers.

Such utterances are not taken more seriously in Germany than are the utterances of extremists among ourselves. I am not referring to what has been printed since the outbreak of the war, but to what was written before, and might be expected to represent the sentiments of Germans under normal conditions. The mass of the Germans longed for peace, and for the economic development made possible by the reign of peace. They had no thought of a career of conquest,

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

although they were ready for an energetic defense.

The second certainty referred to is that it would be repugnant to a people, so humane and civilized as the Germans have shown themselves to be, to treat subject races with inhumanity and to exploit them remorselessly. Think of the social legislation of the German states; of the protection of the rights of the poor, the infirm, the helpless. It would be as unnatural for such a people to deal inhumanly with a subject race as it would be for us.

### SUMMARY

Nations differing widely from one another in the form of government which they enjoy may be imperialistic. The most imperialistic of nations, Great Britain, does not happen to be a republic; but the republic of France has a colonial empire which is usually classed as second in extent and in importance. All of the great powers are imperialistic to some degree. But the United States and Germany have become so very re-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

cently, and have been far less imperialistic, so far, than the other powers I have mentioned. Neither the United States nor Germany deliberately set out upon a career of conquest at any time within the past generation. We did not make war upon Spain in order to take away her colonies; their acquisition was for us an accident of the war. Both the United States and Germany have, however, concluded that it is worth while to hold possessions across the seas.

Doubtless there are many Germans who agree with Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Hollanders, Portuguese and others in thinking that it is a good thing to have a colonial empire of some importance. But this no more proves that they have harbored thoughts of conquest, than does the American's conviction that it is a good thing to be rich prove that he harbors the purpose to get rich by force or by fraud.

Upon the desirability or the reverse of imperialism in general I express no opinion. But I think it worth while to emphasize the fact that Germany has not been in the past, and is not

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

now, more imperialistic than other nations. Indeed, to catch up with some of them, she would have to make immense strides in the future. They out-distance her almost hopelessly.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONS

**T**WO new nations, the United States of America and United Germany, have, by their own robust inner development and through the strength given them by the measure of modern civilization which they enjoy, completely upset the balance of power among the nations of the earth within half a century. In each case the foundations for this development were laid long before, but it was reserved for recent years to reveal how imposing a super-structure would rest upon them. China, a far greater nation, if greatness is to be measured by size of population, has not so far upset the balance of power at all.

Is it or is it not inevitable, is it or is it not desirable, that the balance of power should from time to time be upset and set up again upon a

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

new basis? What is it reasonable to look for? For what is it wise to work? In this final chapter I shall discuss briefly the *status quo* and the balance of power, and shall present a few considerations which seem inevitably to suggest themselves to one who reflects upon the significance of these expressions.

### THE STATUS QUO AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

The expressions themselves have constantly been used as catch-words, as magical formulas to tickle the ears of the unthinking. That rather vague expression the *status quo* is often in the mouth of the man who finds it to his purpose to urge the continued existence of a state of things which long has been or which has recently come into being. He who has been well off, or who is well off, is no friend to innovations. The existing balance of power always seems satisfactory to the man on whose side the balance inclines.

Nevertheless, in spite of their abuse as catch-words, something may be said for the *status quo* and the balance of power, as I shall indicate later.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

But it is only their abuse that can delude us into thinking that they are things to insist upon independently of the interests of civilization and a regard for the welfare of mankind, or that they should be maintained, when the conditions which, perhaps, justified them, have undergone great changes.

Arguments based upon the *status quo* and the balance of power are primarily appeals to the conservative. The American has his conservative side; he is not inclined to revolutions; but a conservative of the conservatives he has never been, and he is too young and too vigorous to abhor changes on principle. What, on the whole, has been the attitude of the American towards the *status quo*?

Did we accept the *status quo* when we dispossessed the Indians? Did we bow down before the principle when we published our Declaration of Independence in 1776? Did we show our respect for it when we rebelled against the search of American ships and the impressment of American seamen by Great Britain in the years preceding 1812?

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

Did we think of the *status quo* in 1861, when we refused to recognize the Confederacy, and insisted upon the integrity of the Union? Did we treat it with deference at the time of our war with Spain? Neither the *status quo* nor the balance of power influenced the President who first enunciated the Monroe Doctrine; neither was in the mind of Lincoln when his inspired pen freed enslaved millions; neither controlled the series of decisions which have given us a fortified Panama Canal under American control; neither held us back from that participation in international complications which is unavoidably attendant upon the extension of our interests in the Far East.

The rise of Germany has been as natural and as inevitable as that of our own country. The union of the German states in 1871 resulted in the United States of Germany, a strong confederation of highly civilized states under a federal government analogous to our own. The population of the Empire, large at the time of its foundation, has rapidly increased. It is a homogeneous, thoroughly educated, highly enlightened

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

population, with the mental and moral qualities which make for economic progress; order and discipline, industry, ingenuity, enterprise, and a capacity for organization. The German nation is, as a nation, very young—much younger than our own. The blood of youth courses in its veins, and Germany naturally looks forward and not back. The unbroken peace which the nation enjoyed for nearly half a century resulted in an internal development which has brought it, in science, industries and commerce, into the front ranks among modern nations.

Such a development—it is a development wholly in the interests of civilization—has unavoidably disturbed the balance of power in Europe. It is not the German army and the German navy that have disturbed the balance of power. These are only symptoms. The nation itself has, by its natural development, and largely through the exercise of moral qualities which, in the abstract, all men approve, been the real cause of the disturbance. Old things in Europe have to some degree passed away; things of no little importance to Europe have

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

become new. Shall we appeal to the *status quo* and conspire together to set back the clock, or shall we recognize that the times have changed and that we have changed with them?

It may be urged in favor of the *status quo* in general that it is a principle which makes for peace. Conservatism is valued by the thoughtful, and more valued by men of experience than by the young and headlong. The Law is conservative; the Church is conservative; the social usages to which men are accustomed, they do not lightly give up in favor of others. In all countries it is felt that a certain respect for what is sanctioned by custom gives stability to the social organism. Yet there is no country in which there is not some change. Where there is none, or almost none, there is no life and no progress. The only pure conservative is the man who is dead. He who is wisely conservative will strive to assimilate as much of the new as seems good, and to avoid paying too high a price for the innovation.

The *status quo* makes for peace, but, if conditions change beyond a certain point, the peace

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

may reveal itself as a frozen immobility which nations with life in them will reject as intolerable. The changes which have taken place in the United States have rendered wholly unavoidable altered relations to the world at large. The development of Germany makes it out of the question that Germany should now be regarded and treated as it was not unnatural to regard and treat the loose aggregate of territories that passed by that name in an earlier time.

It seems as though it ought to be possible to arrive at some sort of a mutual understanding among the more civilized nations, at least, that may take account of such changes. It is desirable that developing nations, civilized nations whose growth in wealth and power signifies a contribution to the total wealth of the world and to the richness of its civilization—it is desirable that such nations should have a place made for them, a place which they may take gradually, as able men rise gradually by their own efforts in a civilized state. That every period of growth and development should be succeeded by a disastrous convulsion, and by an enormous destruc-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

tion of values in many lands, is a great misfortune. Is this unavoidable?

## THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

The problem is one for which there is no easy solution. There can scarcely be a readjustment of any kind in human affairs which does not bring some hardship to someone. Free competition under peaceful conditions does not seem ideal to those who have enjoyed special privileges, or to those who are endowed with a large measure of indolence or incapacity.

I shall here do no more than make a suggestion towards a partial solution of the problem in the form in which it at present confronts us. I shall dwell upon the important topic of the freedom of the seas.

Let me begin with an illustration. The State of New York is a rich and an old state. Let us suppose that it laid claim to the control of various portions of territory scattered all over the United States, aggregating in all nearly one-fourth of the total surface of the country. Such

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

possessions would be of no value to New York, and, for that matter, could not be kept under its control, were a ready means of communication with them not under its control as well. Such a means of communication is furnished by the railroads of the United States.

Let us suppose that the Empire State, to render itself secure in the possession of its "colonial empire," assumed a practical control over the railways of the whole country; building and sending out a vast number of armored trains; erecting forts at strategic points—important junctions—sometimes near and sometimes on the territories of other states supposed to be independent; keeping bodies of armed men ready to strike at a moment's notice where any dependent territory might seem disposed to aim at independence or where any other state might be suspected of an inclination to assert rights not in harmony with the interests of New Yorkers. Suppose that other states also claimed to have interests beyond their own borders, and, although in a lesser degree, equipped and sent out armored trains, under the tacit understanding, to be sure, that they

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

should do nothing to endanger the dominant influence of New York.

Such a condition of affairs might be maintained for a while by the actual superiority in strength enjoyed by the State of New York, by its skill in diplomacy, and by the inability of other states to find some practicable means of putting an end to it in their own interests. For a while it might be kept up by the force of sheer inertia. Tradition and prestige count for much in the affairs of men. States that feel themselves to be weak may not like to see the fortresses of foreign powers on their territory or at their gates, but their inhabitants grow used to the sight, and their feelings are not what they would be if they saw it for the first time.

But suppose that, in the natural course of events, at least two of the other states grew as rich and powerful as the State of New York, if not more so. Could the existent state of affairs then permanently be maintained? Would such States consent to be shut up within their own borders or to reach out beyond them only on sufferance, exercising a limited right more appro-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

priate to a colony than to a sovereign state? The question, I think, answers itself. And if the State of New York, finding the equipment of so many armored trains a heavy burden, should point out to the other states that they were burdened, too, and should suggest an all-around check in armaments, but one made under such limitations that the dominant control of New York over the railways of the country should remain secure, how would the suggestion be received? This question, also, carries with it its answer.

The distances which separate the five principal divisions of the British Empire, the United Kingdom, South Africa, India, Australia and Canada, are enormous. They stretch entirely around the world and zigzag over many latitudes. The distance from England to the Cape is about 5,000 miles; that from the Cape to Bombay is not much less; that from Bombay to Melbourne is still greater; from Melbourne to Auckland it is nearly 2,000 miles; from the last-mentioned place to Vancouver it is more than 6,000; and from Halifax to Liverpool there is a stretch

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

of 2,700. The voyage from London to Bombay by way of the Mediterranean is 6,000 miles long; that from London to Sidney, by the same route, more than 11,000.

The holding of a dominant control over these great waterways necessitates the occupation of a multitude of intermediate stations, and such the British Empire has in its hand—naval and military bases, coaling stations, commercial stations which are at the strategic points of international trade. Such colonial holdings have not been acquired through the free gift of nations stronger than Great Britain. As one runs one's eye over the list of the British colonies and makes a note of the method of their acquisition, one reads: "possession taken," "settlement," "conquest," "settlement and conquest," "capitulation," "cession," "settlement and cession," "military occupation," "annexation," "protectorate declared," "treaty, conquest and settlement," "occupation and cession," "treaty and protectorate."

These settlements, conquests, capitulations, cessions, occupations, protectorates and annexa-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

tions have been, naturally, at the expense of the weaker party, whether that party was small or large, uncivilized or civilized. Were Spain as powerful as the United States, she would no more permit the occupation of Gibraltar than we would that of Newport News. Were Italy a very powerful nation she would refuse to have Malta in the hands of Great Britain. Were Turkey not helpless, Egypt would not have been first occupied and then made a protectorate. Were China not a weak giant, she would no more tolerate a Hong Kong under British rule than would the United States a Staten Island controlled by Great Britain.

I have no desire to find fault with the British for the methods by which the growth of their empire has been insured. They are the usual methods employed in the acquisition of colonies, and I am not concerned with the question of colonies in the abstract. I have chosen to consider the situation created by the existence of the British Empire, rather than some other, for two reasons. The one reason is the enormous size of the burden which the British have taken

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

upon their shoulders; the other is its extreme unwieldiness—the wide distribution over the face of the earth of the colonies which compose the great dominion. The British nation is not one of the largest, by any means, and yet it seems forced to police the whole surface of the globe. And its “interests” are so distributed that it seems almost inevitable that they should come into conflict with those of many races and peoples.

With the rise of other strong nations, even highly civilized and not especially aggressive nations, the weight of the burden must inevitably increase. No civilized nation to-day lives within its own borders. None occupies itself exclusively with agriculture and the consumption of its own products. All demand a free access to the markets of the world. Unless they are guaranteed the freedom of the seas, a guarantee that they cannot regard themselves as enjoying so long as the seas are under the dominant control of any one nation, they must feel that the great public highways of the world may at any time be closed to them. This, by weaker

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

nations, will be felt to be intolerable, and, by strong nations, will not, in the long run, be tolerated.

It is not a question of substituting a dominant control by one nation for that exercised before by another. It is a question of genuine internationalization. The question is a burning one. Nations, whose advance in civilization and capacity for production is a marked one, may, if allowed to expand peaceably in their trade-relations, not be forced to enter upon the part of territorial expansion, at the expense of their neighbors, characteristic of vigorous and growing nations under more primitive conditions. An international guarantee of the freedom of the seas and of access to the markets of the world might conceivably ward off some of those disastrous convulsions from which it has seemed impossible up to the present to protect even the civilized world.

Such an arrangement could only be compassed with the hearty cooperation of the leading civilized nations. Its effects might be very far-reaching, affecting even the status of colonial peoples

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

generally. But it scarcely seems as though any difficulties it could conjure up could weigh in the balance against the overwhelming malady it would seek to cure.

### THE DUTY OF THE NATIONS

We commonly regard men as having certain immediate and imperative duties, and other duties which may be counted as more remote. Self-preservation and the preservation of wife and children, the endeavor to raise oneself and one's family out of dire poverty and degrading dependence, the struggle to obtain some of the material advantages which other men enjoy as a reward for labor—these have the approval of all, and appear to bear the stamp of imperative duty. He who is neglectful in these fields is scarcely in a position to fulfil properly other duties which men also regard as of importance. There are other duties of importance; the duty of obeying the laws and seeing to it that others obey them; the duty of being a good neighbor and regardful of one's fellow man; the duty of bringing about changes, from time to time, in

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

the social organism, when that organism is discovered to be imperfect in this respect or in that, and to work hardship to individuals or to social classes.

It is the same with nations. No one denies to the nations the right of defending their national existence or struggling against such a mutilation as would condemn them to the life of the cripple. No one condemns their peaceful attempts at self-development, their raising the level of education and efficiency in their populations, their ingenuity and assiduity in prosecuting those arts which contribute to the world's civilization and material wealth. If the success with which any nation fulfils these tasks gives offense to any other nation, it is because of a conflict of private interests, not because the activities in themselves are objectionable. The very virtues of the grocer on the corner of the block may offend me, if I am myself a grocer, and am less highly endowed with those virtues.

But the nations have also other duties: the duty of treating their neighbors with all the consideration that existent circumstances may

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

permit of; the duty of helping to work out some international system of relations which will make it possible for the nations to live a civilized life in their relations with each other, and not merely possible for individuals within a nation to act like civilized men. If a nation is not regardful of the duties first mentioned, it will be able to do small service toward the fulfilment of those dwelt upon just above. Weak nations may be powerless for evil, but they are also powerless for good.

I have maintained that the great desideratum for the family of the nations is some such flexible system of international organization that growth may take place unaccompanied by convulsions and the rupture of the system. The very first requisite appears to me to be an international guarantee of the freedom of the seas. In this the small nations would find their profit as well as the larger. This guarantee would, to a certain extent, throw open to all the markets of the world, and would be in the interests of the survival of those really fit. But it would not, in itself, solve the whole problem. I have

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

hinted that it might, in the future—perhaps, the remote future—lead to a new conception of the status of colonies in general. However, that is a problem for a more or less distant future, and to-day we are confronted by a condition which calls for immediate consideration. The present situation is intolerable, so intolerable that it will surely bring with it its remedy. The trade of the world, of neutral nations as well as belligerents, has been treated as the private property of a single nation; the public highways of the world have been blocked. Those who go down to the sea in ships appear to be under no law. The nations must combine together to prevent a recurrence of such intolerable conditions in the future.

In this book I am concerned chiefly with Germany, and I turn again here to Germany. Like any individual man, the German nation has found itself confronted by certain imperative duties, and these it has fulfilled with an unusual measure of faithfulness and diligence. It has provided for its national defense, it has educated and trained its population, securing to all classes

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

a high measure of well-being. It has cultivated the arts and sciences, contributing to the enlightenment and material well-being of the world. It has reaped a substantial reward for its labors. Finally, it has found itself plunged into a desperate war in which it must protect itself against destruction, or, at the least, serious mutilation.

Into the causes of the war I need not here go, further than to say that the causes so often brought forward are wholly trivial and inadequate. The Germans did not go to war because Treitschke lectured; they did not take up arms because one or more military enthusiasts wrote intemperately; Nietzsche had no more to do with it than Artemus Ward. Great world-movements are as little to be accounted for by such trivial circumstances as is the motion of the dining-car by the fact that there is a fly in the butter. Nor must we look for the true causes in the notes of diplomats, however cleverly drawn up. These are symptoms, or, at best, occasions, not the causes which exert a permanent pressure, and bring about a real disturbance in the balance of power. In truly civilized nations the words

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

or even the actions of an individual man have not the significance that they may have in an oriental despotism.

Nor shall I predict the outcome of the war. That is something for the future. I say with some confidence, however, that, should Germany win, she will probably be confronted by a situation as little anticipated by most Germans at the beginning of the year 1914, as was the situation in which we found ourselves after the Spanish War anticipated by most Americans. We had not entered upon a war of conquest; we found ourselves with a colonial empire upon our hands. What will Germany do? Frankly, I do not know, and I do not believe that, as yet, most Germans have any definite opinion.

I have now watched the course of the war for ten months, living on German soil, seeing for myself the conditions in Germany, and yet having the advantage of being able to view the situation with the critical eye of an outsider. During this period I have had free access to all the foreign newspapers, American, English, French and Italian; for not only have such been

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

sent to me direct, but they have constantly been for sale, and uncensored, in the streets of Munich. I have witnessed in Germany an exhibition of strength for which I was wholly unprepared, although I thought that I knew the land well. That the German nation, large as it is, united as it is, civilized and thoroughly organized as it is, can be permanently relegated to the position of a second-class power, under the dictation of some other nation or group of nations, I regard as wholly inconceivable.

Something else will have to be done with Germany. If the ancient privileges of some other nation stand in the way of the natural and wholesome growth of the German nation, such ancient privileges will have to be curtailed and some compromise arrived at. The Germans will certainly assert themselves, as we Americans have been asserting ourselves and will assert ourselves in the future. They will claim all the rights appropriate to a great and a highly civilized nation that is penetrated with the conviction that it serves the world in serving itself.

We must not forget that the strength of Ger-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

many is inherent. It is not the after-glow of a famous past that is impressing us. Germany is not strong by accident of position. She is not rendered temporarily formidable through a membership in a coalition of powers whose civilizations have little in common, whose permanent interests are divergent, and who can be expected to hold together only for a limited period.

Germany's strength is from within, and such strength is the most indestructible. Nations that hope to compete with her in the long run must possess or develop a strength of somewhat the same nature. It is as inevitable that Germany should grow in power and in influence, should claim her rights, and should maintain her strict independence, as it is that the United States of America should do the same. The very strength of both of these nations seems to lay them under especial moral obligations. In that strength there is a force which will not be exhausted in a single struggle of any sort, whatever its outcome. It will make itself felt in the world long after the passions aroused by the present struggle have subsided.

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

United Germany has become a great and a powerful nation. Her voice will be listened to in the future as it has not been listened to in the past. She has given the world an exhibition of what a modern civilized state can do for all classes of its own citizens, and has shown how strong a state may become through the improvement of its own social texture. Education, discipline, organization, these elements in modern civilization have had an opportunity to stand revealed in their true significance. The exhibition has been an impressive one.

Of the universal and deep-seated devotion to their state, which has been revealed in all classes of the people, no foreigner could have had a suspicion before it was brought to the surface in this crisis. The German accepts the fact that he belongs to the state. With that fact he cheerfully accepts the consequences. The state has served the people, and the people serve the state. The self-sacrifice of the individual seems to be taken as a matter of course.

This phenomenon was not always to be observed in Germany. National feeling was once

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

at a low ebb, and Germany easily became a prey. To-day, under changed conditions, Germany is strong; so strong that the humanitarian may feel justified in reminding the German as he must remind the American, that no man has the right to be only a German or an American, but should remember that he is also a man. Whatever our immediate ends, we must bear in mind that we belong to the family of the nations. We must not lose sight of broader aims, international right and the welfare of humanity.

Hence I venture to express the earnest hope that Germany, while fulfilling her imperative duties towards her own subjects, will not be indifferent to those broader duties which we have a right to demand of civilized nations—duties towards the world at large. May she join with other nations in striving to prevent the substitution of one tyranny for another. May she aid in maintaining the freedom of the seas.

It is in the conviction that the United States and Germany have in the future a more important part to play in the drama to be enacted by the nations than most Americans and Ger-

## GERMANY OF TO-DAY

mans even now realize, that this book has been written. Both of them are nations still in their prime, with their work still before them. May they so come to understand one another that they can work together in harmony for the welfare of the whole family of nations. May they not fall, through blindness, into useless and harmful conflict. The civilized world should be one and united. It is now not one and united. In bringing about the union of the future upon a reasonable basis, the lead will have to be taken by the strong.

THE END







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